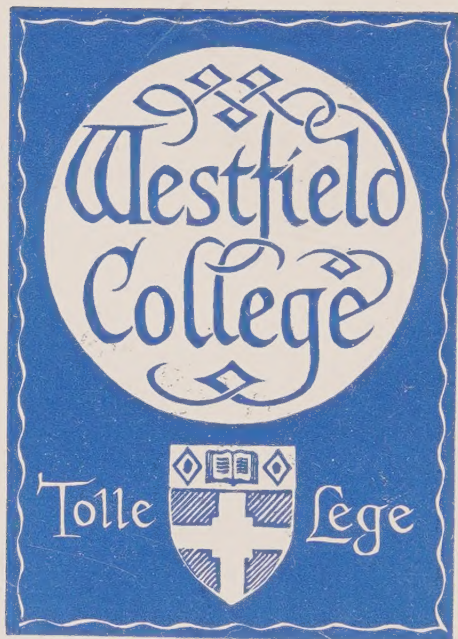


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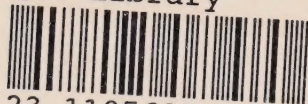
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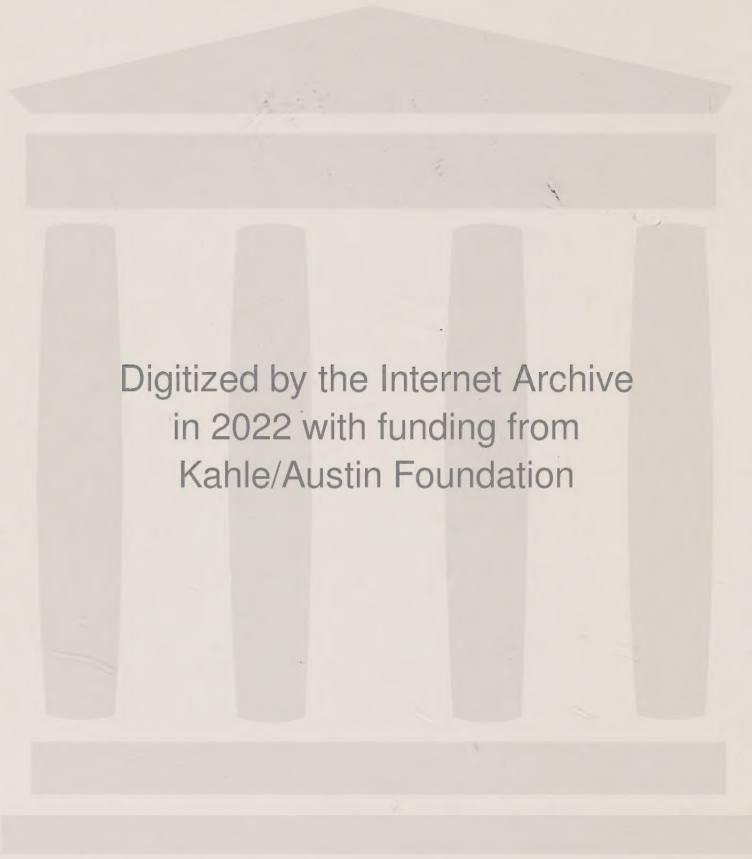


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SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS

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EDITED BY PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ, LITT.D., F.B.A.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; HONORARY DIRECTOR OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

II

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

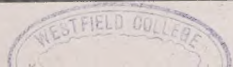
An Alliterative Poem on the Nine Worthies
and the Heroes of Romance



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II

THE PARLEMENT OF THE
THRE AGES

I WOL BIWAYLE IN MANER OF TRAGEDIE
THE HARM OF HEM THAT STODE IN HEIGH DEGREE,
AND FILLEN SO THAT THER NAS NO REMEDIE
TO BRINGE HEM OUT OF HIR ADVERSITEE;
FOR CERTAIN, WHAN THAT FORTUNE LIST TO FLEE,
THER MAY NO MAN THE COURS OF HIR WITHHOLDE;
LAT NO MAN TRUSTE ON BLIND PROSPERITEE;
BE WAR BY THISE ENSAMPLES TREWE AND OLDE.

Chaucer, *The Monkes Tale*.

PREFACE

The Manuscripts. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, first printed by the present editor for the Roxburghe Club in 1897, is preserved in one of Robert Thornton's famous miscellanies of English poems and romances. The MS. was acquired by the British Museum in 1879; its press-mark is Additional MSS. 31042. It is a quarto of the fifteenth century, containing in all twenty-six different items. The present poem is to be found on pages 169-76 b.

At the Crawford sale in 1891 the British Museum purchased a manuscript miscellany, belonging originally to Sir James Ware (ob. 1666), and included in the catalogue of his books printed at Dublin in 1648. The collection of pieces, originally bound together,¹ comprises for the most part works relating to Ireland, topographical, linguistic, and legendary, the whole of the contents being in Latin and Irish, with the exception of sixteen pages at the end, written in an English hand of the fifteenth century. It was the good fortune of the writer to identify these pages as being a large part of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (from line 226 to the end), and the discovery proved of value, for several difficulties in Add. 31042 were cleared up by the newly-discovered fragment (numbered 33994 in the Museum collection). In the present volume the more important variant readings are quoted in the textual notes at the end. The MSS. are clearly independent of each other in their relationship to the original MS.

¹ The history of the volume is given in the Museum Catalogue under Add. 33991.

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The fragment is followed by a short list, in the same hand, headed 'Distretacio Rerum':

'An heerd of hertis	An Iye of ffesauntz
An heerd of dere	A covy of partrikes
An heerd of Cranes	A Bevy of ladyes
An heerd of Curlues	A Beve of quayles
An heerd of wrennes	A Bevy of Roes.'

In view of the almost technical character of much of alliterative poetry, this catalogue of terms, written at the end of the *Parlement*, is not without interest (*cp.* Juliana Bernes's *Boke of Huntinge*, Twety's *Treatise on Venerie*, &c.).

General Characteristics of the Poem. The MSS. of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* afford no direct evidence of authorship, date of composition, or the original locality of the poem. One's first impression is that *The Parlement* is a sort of summary of longer poems—an epitome reminiscent of lines and passages in the chief alliterative poems of the second half of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, no criteria gainsay the theory that would assign it to the author of *Winnere and Wastoure*, which can be dated not much later than 1350; and so it may have been the prologue rather than the epilogue of the alliterative revival.¹ The opening and closing lines seem to connect it with *Piers the Plowman*; the elaborate machinery of the deer-stalking suggests points of contact with the masterly description of the hunting of the deer, the boar, and the fox, in *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght*. The author's delight in bright colours, and a certain joyousness in his

¹ *Cp.* Preface to *Winnere and Wastoure*. A striking list of parallel passages from *The Parlement* as compared with *Gawayne*, *Alexander*, *Troy Book*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, is given by Dr. George Neilson, in *Huchown of the Awle Ryale* (1902), in support of his theory, which would assign to that author all these poems and more.

descriptions, together with occasional characteristic marks of diction, recall the poet of *Sir Gawayne*; but in poetical talent, as well as in wealth of language, to say nothing of intellectual power and acquirements of learning, our author is altogether inferior to that gifted 'maker'. His choice of theme, so well suited to the genius of the new-old poetry, with its picturesqueness, colour, lofty aspiration, and didactic tendency, was certainly a happy inspiration; and his achievement, though it reveals occasional lapses, must have been regarded by his contemporaries as eminently successful. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* wears with conscious dignity the livery of a great and ancient house.

The Nine Worthies. The list of the heroes and heroines of romance enumerated in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* is by far the fullest to be found in Middle-English literature, and forms a valuable supplement to the account of the 'wyghes that were wyseste'; both sections are evidently an extension of the author's original scheme to write in the grand style a panegyric on 'The Nine Worthies'.

It would seem that he took his subject from the most famous 'Alexander' romance of the fourteenth century, Longuyon's *Vœux du Paon*, written at the beginning of the century, and at once popular throughout Western Europe.¹ Two French poets continued Longuyon's work; it was soon translated into Dutch,² and probably before the middle of the next century was independently rendered into Scottish verse by two poets at work about the same time—the one, a nameless poet, using Barbour's octosyllabic verse;³ the other, the famous Sir Gilbert

¹ Cp. M. Paul Meyer's remarks in *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes français*, 1883, &c.; also the same scholar's *Alexandre le Grand dans la litt. fr.*, 1886.

² Cp. *Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*: '*Roman van Cassamus uitgegeven door Dr. Eelco Verwijs*'; this is a fragment; it does not yield us a Dutch rendering of 'The Nine Worthies'.

³ The first section of his book consists of the 'Furray of Gadderis',

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Hay ('Chamberlain to the French King,' Charles VII), to whom Dunbar alludes in his *Lament*, showing his preference for the heroic couplet. The two versions, absolutely distinct, are often confused; the former, written in 1438, was printed for Arbuthnet, about 1580, and again reprinted in 1831 by the Bannatyne Club; the latter, still unprinted, is extant in two MSS. belonging to the Marquis of Breadalbane. The romance was the delight of that rough chieftain 'the Black Duncan'.¹ It may be inferred that Gilbert Hay's French manuscript did not contain the account of 'The Nine Worthies'; the passage is not to be found in his translation.

Appendices VI and VII give the French original, evidently used by the author of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, together with the corresponding passage in Arbuthnet's *Book of the most Noble and Valiant Conquerour*.

The subject of 'The Nine Worthies' seems to have had special attraction for the poets of the North of England and Scotland. Perhaps the finest treatment of the theme is *Arthur's Dream* in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*,² the great Arthurian romance, written about 1380, imperishably enshrined in Malory's immortal prose.³ Later, *Ane Ballet de novem*

taken from the *Roman d'Alexandre*, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and half of the seventh Chansons (cp. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, Add. 16956). 'The Forray of Gadderis', in particular, shows Barbour's influence; we know that he was familiar with the story (cp. Barbour's *Bruce*, book iii). Dr. A. Herrmann, in his *Untersuchungen* (Halle, 1893), disposes of the theory that the first section of *The Book of Alexander*, and the second and third sections, might be by different hands.

¹ Cp. *The Black Book of Taymouth*, Bannatyne Club, 1855. Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS. has been published by the Scottish Text Society, ed. J. H. Stevenson (1896, 1914).

² 'The Dream' is a vision of 'Fortune's Wheel', the kings being vividly described. This fine episode is possibly the original source of the alliterative-stanzaic poem entitled 'Fortune' (cp. *Reliquiae Antiquae*).

³ Malory suppresses the last part, the part containing 'The Dream', and replaces it in his twenty-first book by the version of Harl. MS. 2252, 'Le Mort Arthur' (cp. Sommer, *Sources of 'Le Morte Darthur'*, p. 175). On the other hand, Caxton, in his Preface to 'Le Morte Darthur', has an

PREFACE

nobilibus puts forward a claim for 'Robert the Brois' as not below any of 'the Nine' in doughty deeds.¹

It is maintained by M. Paul Meyer that Longuyon's verses on 'The Nine Worthies' mark their first appearance in literature. There is no evidence that 'the Nine' had previously figured in pageants, tapestry, or decorative embellishments. The impression, however, given by the passage in Longuyon suggests that its introduction into the *Vœux du Paon* may have been due to an already existing 'device' or 'ballad'. It is interesting to note that the author of the *Cursor Mundi*, belonging to the beginning of the fourteenth century, was evidently familiar with 'the Nine'; in the Prologue he mentions the three Pagans and the three Christians: The three Jewish Worthies are omitted in his brief enumeration, for the design of the work is to tell the biblical story at full length.

As an indication of the popularity of the subject, it is necessary to point out that the earliest extant example of block-printing is an elaborate pictorial representation of the 'Worthies', preserved in the National Library, Paris, and belonging to about the year 1455.²

It does not come within the province of the present study

interesting statement to the effect that 'many noble and dyuers gentylmen of thys royaume of Englonde camen and demaunded me many and oftymes wherfore that I haue not do made and emprynte the noble hystorye of the saynt greal and of the moost renoméd crysten kyng, first and chyef of the thre best crysten and worthy'; then follows a summary account of the Nine Worthies.

¹ Appendix x.

² Reproduced in M. Thierry-Poux's elaborate portfolio of facsimiles illustrative of early printing. The verses will be found in the Appendix. To about the same time belong the fragments discovered at Metz. The orthography is somewhat different from that of the Paris version. (Cp. *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie de la Moselle*, 1862, &c.) Concerning 'The Nine Worthies', see further Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. H. Wilson, vol. i, p. 270; Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, vol. ii, p. 193; article by J. J. Guiffrey in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. xi (1880).

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to carry the history of 'The Ninè Worthies' into the sixteenth century. Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* attests its popularity as a mumming-play among the rustics of England; there is extant 'the book of the words' of one of the plays at least a hundred years older than the pageant presented by Don Armado and his friends.¹ 'Pompey the Great' did not always oust the conqueror of Britain, yet, on the strength of Shakespeare's burlesque, most people would now assign him a place among the famous Nine. The lamentable story of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' is not more closely associated with Bottom the Weaver, Starveling, and Quince, than are the Nine Worthies with 'the pedant, the braggart, the hedge-priest, the fool, and the boy':—

'Abate throw at novum; and the whole world again
Cannot prick out five such, take each one in his vein.'

¹ Cp. Appendix xi. 'Divers play Alexander in the villages,' observes Williams in his *Discourse of Warre*, 1590, 'but few or none in the field.'

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PROLOGUE.

IN THE monethe of Maye when mirthes bene fele,
And the sesone of somere when softe bene the wedres,
Als I went to the wodde my werdes to dreghe,
In-to þ^e schawes my-selfe a schotte me to gete
5 At ane hert or ane hynde, happen as it myghte:
And as Dryghtyn the day droue frome þ^e heuen,
Als I habade one a banke be a bryme syde,
There the gryse was grene growen with floures—
The primrose, the pervynke, and piliole þ^e riche—
10 The dewe appon dayes donkede full faire,
Burgons & blossoms & braunches full swete,
And the mery mystes full myldely gane falle:
The cukkowe, the cowschote, kene were þay bothen,
And the throstills full throlly threpen in the bankes,
15 And iche foule in that frythe faynere þan oþer
That the derke was done & the daye lightenede:
Hertys and hyndes one hillys þay gounen,
The foxe and the filmarte þay flede to þ^e erthe,
The hare hurkles by hawes, & harde thedir dryves,
20 And ferkes faste to hir fourme & fatills hir to sitt.
Als I stode in that stede one stalkynge I thoghte;
Bothe my body and my bowe I buskede with leues;
And turnede to-wardes a tree & tariede there a while;
And als I lokede to a launde a littill me be-syde,

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- 25 I seghe ane hert *with* ane hede, ane heghe for the nones;
 Alle vnburneschede was þ^e beme, full borely þ^e mydle,
With iche feetur as thi fote, for-frayed in the greues,
With auntlers one aythere syde egheliche longe;
 The ryalls full richely raughten frome the myddes,
- 30 *With* surryals full semely appon sydes twayne;
 And he assommet^m and sett of vi. and of tffye,
 And þer-to borely and brode and of body grete,
 And a coloppe for a kynge, cache hym who myghte.
 Bot there sewet hym a sowre þat seruet hym full 3erne,
- 35 That woke & warned hym when the wynde faylede,
 That none so sleghe in his slepe *with* sleghte scholde hym
 dere,
 And went the wayes hym by-fore when any wothe tyde.
 My lyame than full lightly lete I doun falle,
 And to the bole of a birche my berselett I cowchide;
- 40 I waitted wiesly the wynde by waggyng of leues,
 Stalkede full stilly no stikkes to breke,
 And crepite to a crabtre and couerede me ther-vndere:
 Then I bende vp my bowe and bownede me to schote,
 Tighte vp my tylere and taysede at the hert:
- 45 Bot the sowre þat hym sewet sett vp the nese,
 And wayttede wittily abowte & wyndide full 3erne.
 Then I moste stonde als I stode, and stirre no fote ferrere,
 For had I my[n]tid or mouede or made any synys,
 Alle my layke hade bene loste þat I hade longe wayttede.
- 50 Bot gnattes gretely me greuede and gnawen myn eghne;
 And he stotayde and stelkett and starede full brode,
 Bot at the laste he louted doun & laughte till his mete,
 And I hallede to the hokes and the hert smote,
 And happenyd that I hitt hym by-hynde þe lefte scholdire,
- 55 þat þ^e blode braste owte appon bothe the sydes:
 And he balkede and brayed and bruschede thurgh þe greues,

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

- As alle had hurlede one ane hepe þat in the holte longede ;
 And sone the sowre þat hym sewet resorte to his feris,
 And þay, forfrayed of his fare, to þ^e fellys þay hyen ;
 60 And I hyede to my hounde and hent hym vp sone,
 And louset my lyame and lete hym vmbycastle ;
 The breris and the brakans were bloody by-ronnen ;
 And he assentis to þat sewte and seches hym aftire,
 There he was crepyde in-to a krage and crouschede to þe erthe ;
 65 Dede als a dore-nayle down was he fallen ;
 And I hym hent by þe hede and heriyett hym vttire,
 Turned his troches & tachede thaym in-to the erthe,
 Kest vp that kēduart and kutt of his tonge,
 Brayde [out] his bowells my berselett to fede,
 70 And I s[clis]te hym at þe assaye to see how me semyde,
 And he was floreschede full faire of two fyngere brode.
 I chese to the chawylls chefe to be-gynn,
 And ritte down at a rase reghte to the tayle,
 And þan þ^e herbere anone aftir I makede,
 75 I raughte the righte legge by-fore, ritt it þer-aftir,
 And so fro legge to legge I lepe thaym aboute,
 And þ^e felle fro þe fete fayre I departede,
 And flewe it down with my fiste faste to the rigge ;
 I tighte owte my trenchore and toke of the scholdirs,
 80 Cuttede corbyns bone and kest it a-waye ;
 I slitte hym full sleghely, and slyppede in my fyngere,
 Lesse the poynte scholde perche the pawnche or the guttys :
 I soughte owte my sewet and semblete it to-gedre,
 And pullede oute the paw[n]che and putt it in an hole :
 85 I grippede owte the guttes and graythede thaym be-syde,
 And than the nombles anone name I there-aftire,
 Rent vp fro the rygge reghte to the myddis ;
 And than the fourches full fayre I fonge fro þ^e sydes,
 And chynede hym chefely, and choppede of the nekke,

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

- 90 And þ^e hede and the haulse homelyde in sondree ;
 þ^e fete of the fourche I feste thurgh the sydis,
 And heuede alle in-to ane hole and hidde it with ferne,
 With hethe and with hore mosse hilde it about,
 Pat no fostere of the fee scholde fynde it ther-aftir ;
 95 Hid the hornes and the hede in ane hologhe oke,
 Pat no hunte scholde it hent ne haue it in sighte.
 I foundede faste there-fro for ferde to be wryghede,
 And sett me oute one a syde to see how it cheuede,
 To wayte it frome wylde swyne that wyse bene of nesse ;
 100 And als I satte in my sette the sone was so warme,
 And I for slepeles was slome and slomerde a while,
 And there me dremed, in that dowte, a full dreghe sweuynn
 And whate I seghe in my saule the sothe I schall telle.

I.

- I** SEGHE thre thro men thredden full 3erne
 105 And mot[ed]en of myche-whate and maden thaym full tale.
 And 3e will, ledys, me listen ane [littille]-while,
 I schall reken thaire araye redely for sothe,
 And to 3owe neuen thaire names naytly there-aftire.
 The firste was a ferse freke, fayrere than thies othire,
 110 A bolde beryn one a blonke bownne for to ryde,
 A hathelle on ane heghe horse with hauke appon hande.
 He was balghe in the breste and brode in the scholdirs,
 His axles and his armes were [eghe-]liche longe,
 And in the medill als a mayden menskfully schapen.
 115 Longe legges, and large, and lele for to schewe,
 He streghte hym in his sterapis and stode vp-rightes.
 He ne hade no hode ne no hatte bot his here one,
 A chaplet one his chefe-lere, chosen for the nones,
 Raylede alle with rede rose, richeste of floures,
 120 With trayfoyles and trewloues of full triede perles,

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

- With a chefe chareboecle chosen in the myddes.
 He was gerede alle in grene, alle with golde by-weuede,
 Embroddirde alle with besantes and beralles full riche :
 His colere with calsydoynnes clustrede full thikke,
 125 *With* many dyamandes full dere dighte one his sleues.
 þ^e semys with saphirssett were full many,
 With emeraudes and amatistes appon iche syde,
 With full riche rubyes raylede by the hemmes ;
 þ^e price of that perry were worthe powndes full many.
 130 His sadill was of sykamoure that he satt inn,
 His bridell alle of brente golde with silke brayden raynes,
 His [t]r[a]poure was of tartaryne, þat traylede to þe erthe,
 And he throly was threuen of thritty zere of elde,
 And there-to zonge and zape, and 3outhe was his name ;
 135 And the semely[est] segge that I seghe euer.

II.

- T**HE seconde segge in his sete satte at his ese,
 A renke alle in rosette þat rowmly was schapyn ;
 In a golyone of graye girde in the myddes,
 And iche bagge in his bosome bettir than othere.
 140 One his golde and his gude gretly he mousedede,
 His renttes and his reches rekened he full ofte,
 OF mukkyng, of marlelyng, and mendyng of howses,
 OF benes of his bondemen, of benefetis many,
 OF *presantes* of polayle, of pu[r]filis als,
 145 OF purches of ploughe-londes, of parkes full faire,
 OF profettis of his pastours, that his purse mendis,
 OF stiewarde[s], of storroures, stirkes to bye,
 OF clerkes of countours, his courtes to holde,
 And alle his witt in this werlde was one his wele one :
 150 Hym semyde, for to see to, of sixty zere elde,
 And þer-fore men in his marche Medill-elde hym callede.

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THREE AGES

III.

THE thirde was a laythe lede lenyde one his syde,
 A beryne bownn alle in blake, with bedis in his hande;
 Croked and courbede, encrampeschett for elde;
 155 Alle disfigured was his face, and fadit his hewe,
 His berde and browes were blanchede full whitte,
 And the hare one his hede hewed of the same,
 He was ballede and blynde and alle babirlippede,
 Totheles and tenefull, I tell 3owe for sothe;
 160 And euer he momelide and ment and mercy he askede,
 And cried kenely one Criste, and his crede sayde,
 With sawtries full sere tymes, to sayntes in heuen;
 Envyous and angrye, and Elde was his name.
 I helde hym be my hapyng a hundrethe 3eris of age,
 165 And bot his cruche and his couche he carede for no more.
 Now hafe [I] rekkende 3ow theire araye, redely the sothe,
 And also namede 3ow thaire names naytly there-aftire,
 And now thaire carpyng I sall kythe, knowe it if 3owe liste.

IV.

NOW this gome alle in grene so gayly attyrede,
 170 This hathelle one this heghe horse, with hauke one his
 fiste,
 He was 3onge and 3ape and 3ernynge to armes,
 And pleynede hym one paramours and peteously syghede.
 He sett hym vp in his sadill and seyde† theis wordes:
 ‘My lady, my leman, pat I hafe luffede euer,
 175 My wele and my wirchip, in werlde where þou duellys,
 My playstere of paramours†, with pappis full swete,
 Alle my hope and my hele, myn herte es thyn ownn!
 I by-hete the a heste, and heghely I a-vowe,
 There schall no hode ne no hatt one my hede sitt,

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

180 Till þat I joyntly with a gesserante justede hafe one[s],
And done dedis for thi loue, doghety in armes.'

V.

BOT then this gome alle in graye greued with this
wordes,

And sayde, 'felowe, be my faythe þou fonnes full 3erne,
For alle fantome and foly that thou with faris.

185 Where es þ^e londe and the lythe þat þou arte lorde ouer?

For alle thy ryalle araye, renttis hase þou none;

Ne for thi pompe and thi pride, penyes bot fewe:

For alle thi golde and thi gude gloes one thi clothes,

And þou hafe caughte thi kaple, þou cares for no fothire.

190 Bye the stirkes with thi stede, and stalles thaym make;

Thi brydell of brent golde wolde bullokes the gete;

The pryce of thi perrye wolde purches the londes;

And wonne, wy, in thi witt, for wele-neghe þou spilles.'

VI.

THAN the gome alle in grene greued full sore,

195 And sayd, 'sir, be my soule, thi consell es feble.

Bot thi golde and thi gude thou hase no god ells;

For, be þ^e lorde and the laye þat I leue inne,

And by the Gode that me gaffe goste and soule,

Me were leuere one this launde lengen a while,

200 Stoken in my stele-wede, one my stede bakke,

Harde haspede in my helme, and in my here-wedys,

With a grym grownden grayfe graythely in myn honde,

And see a kene knyghte come and cowpe with my-seluen,

þat I myghte halde þat I hafe highte and heghely avowede,

205 And parfourme my profers and prouen my strengthes,

Than alle the golde and the gude that thoue gatt euer,

Than alle the londe and the lythe that thoue arte lorde ouer,

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

- And ryde to a reuere redily there-aftir,
 With haukes full hawtayne that heghe willen flye ;
 210 And when þ^e fewlis bene founden, fawkoneres hyenn
 To lache oute thaire lessches and lowsen thaym sone,
 And keppyn of thaire caprons, and casten fro honde,
 And than the hawteste in haste hyghes to the towre,
 With theire bellys so brighte blethely thay ryngen,
 215 And there they hounen appon heghte, as it were heuen
 angelles.
 Then the fawkoners full fersely to floodes þay hyen,
 To the reuere with thaire roddes to rere vp the fewles,
 Sowssches thaym full serely to seruen thaire hawkes.
 Than tercelettes full tayttely telys doun stryken,
 220 Laners and lanerettis lightten to thes endes,
 Metyn with the mauulerdes and many doun striken ;
 Fawkons þay founden freely to lighte,
 With hoo and howghe to the heron þay hitten hym full ofte,
 Buffetyn hym, betyn hym, and brynges hym to sege,
 225 And saylen hym full serely and sesyn hym there-aftire.
 Then fawkoners full fersely founden þam aftire,
 To helpen thaire hawkes thay hyen thaym full 3erne,
 For the bitt of his bill bitterly he strikes.
 They knelyn doun one theire knees and krepyn full lowe,
 230 Wynnen to his wynges and wrythen thaym to-gedire,
 Brosten the bones and brekyn thaym in sondire,
 Puttis owte with a penn þ^e [pyth] one his gloue,
 And quo[p]es thaym to the querrie that quelled hym to þ^e
 dethe.
 He quysses thaym and quotes thaym, quyppeys full lowde,
 235 Cheres [tha]ym full chefely ecchekkes to leue ;
 Than henntis thaym one honde and hodes thaym ther-aftire,
 Cowples vp theire cowers thaire caprons to holde,
 Lowppes in thaire lesses thorowe vertwells of siluere ;

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

- Pan he laches to his luyre, and lokes to his horse,
 240 And lepis vpe one the lefte syde, als þ^e laghe askes.
 Portours full pristly putten vpe the fowlis,
 And taryen for theire tercelettis þat tenyn thaym full ofte,
 For some chosen to þ^e echecheke, þoghe some chefe bettire;
 Spanyells full spedily þay spryngen abowte,
 245 Be-dagged for dowkyngne when digges ben enewede :
 And than kayre to the courte that I come fro,
 With ladys full louely to lappyn in myn armes,
 And clyp thaym and kysse thaym and comforthe myn hert;
 And than with damesels dere to daunsen in thaire chambirs;
 250 Riche Romance to rede, and rekken the sothe
 Of kempes and of conquerours, of kynges full nolee,
 How tha[y] wirchiþe and welthe wanne in thaire lyues;
 With renkes in ryotte to reuelle in haulle,
 With coundythes and carolles and compaynyes sere,
 255 And chese me to the chesse that chefe es of gamnes;
 And this es life for to lede while I schalle lyfe here;
 And thou with wandrynge and woo schalte wake for thi
 gudes,
 And be thou doluen and dede, thi dole schall be schorte,
 And he that thou leste luffes schall layke hym there-with,
 260 And spend that thou† sparede, the deuyll spede hym ells!

Than this renke alle in rosette rothelede thies wordes :
 He sayde, 'thryfte and thou haue threpid this thirtene
 wynter.

I seghe wele samples bene sothe that sayde bene [ful] þore :
 Fole es that with foles delys: flyte we no lengare!

VII.

- 265 **T**HAN this beryn alle in blake bownnes hym to speke,
 And sayde, 'sirres, by my soule, sottes bene 3e bothe.

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THREE AGES

- Bot will 3e hendely me herken ane hande-while,
 And I schalle stynte *your* stryffe and stillen *your* threpe.
 I sett ensample bi my-selfe, and sek[e] it no forthire:
 270 While I was 3onge in my 3outhen and 3ape of my dedys,
 I was als euerrous in armes as ouper of 3oure-seluen,
 And as styffe in a stourre one my stede bake,
 And as gaye in my gere als any gome ells,
 And as lelly by-luffede with ladyse and maydens.
 275 My likame was louely as lothe nowe to schewe,
 And as myche wirchip I wane i-wis as 3e bothen;
 And aftir irkede me with this, and ese was me leuere,
 Als man in his medill elde his makande wolde haue.
 Than I mukkede and marlede and made vp my howses,
 280 And purcheste me ploughe-londes and pastures full noble;
 Gatte gude and golde full gaynly to honde;
 Rechtes and renttes were ryfe to my-seluen.
 Bot elde vndire-3ode me are I laste wiste,
 And alle disfigured my face and fadide my hewe,
 285 Bothe my browes and my berde blawnchede full whitte,—
 And when he sotted my syghte, than sowed myn hert—
 Croked me, cwrbed me, encrampeschet myn hondes,
 þat I ne may hefe þam to my hede, ne noghte helpe my-seluen,
 Ne stale stonden one my fete, bot I my staffe haue.
 290 Makes 3oure mirrours bi me, men, bi 3oure trouthe;
 This schadowe in my schewere schunte 3e no while.
 And now es dethe at my dore that I drede moste;
 I ne wot wiche daye, ne when, ne whate tyme he comes,
 Ne whedir-wardes, ne whare, ne whatte to do aftire;
 295 But many modyere than I, men one this molde,
 Hafe passed the pase þat I schall passe sone;
 And I schall neuen 3ow the names off nyne of the beste
 þat euer wy in this werlde wiste appon erthe,
 þat were conquerours full kene and kiddeste of oþer.

VIII.

- 300 **T**HE firste was *sir* Ector, and aldeste of tyme,
 When Troygens of Troye were tried to fighte
 With Menylawse þ^e mody kynge and men out of Grece,
 þat þaire cite assegede and sayled it full ȝerne,
 For Elayne his ownn quene that there-inn was halden,
 305 þat Paresche the proude knyghte paramours louede.
 Sir Ectore was euerous, als the storye telles,
 And als clerkes in the cronycle cownten þ^e sothe,
 Nowmbron thaym to [nynety] and ix mo by tale
 Of kynges with crownes he killede with his handes,
 310 And full fele oþer folke, als ferly were ellis.
 Then Achilles his adversarye vndide with his werkes,
 With wyles, and no wirchipe, woundede hym to dethe,
 Als he tentid to a tulke þat he tuke of were,
 And he was slayne for that slaughte sleghely þer-aftir,
 315 With the wyles of a woman, as he had wroghte by-fore.
 Than Menylawse þ^e mody kynge hade myrthe at his hert,
 þat Ectore hys enmy siche aountoure hade fallen,
 And with the Gregeis of Grece he girde ouer the walles,
 þ^e prowde paleys dide he pulle down to þ^e erthe,
 320 þat was rialeste of araye and rycheste vndirþ heuen ;
 And þen þ^e Trogens of Troye teneden full sore,
 And semble[d]þ þaym full s[ar]rely, and sadly þay foughten ;
 Bot the lure at the laste lighte appon Troye ;
 For there *sir* Priamus the prynce put was to dethe,
 325 And Pantasilia þe [prowde] quene paste hym by-fore.
 Sir Troylus, a trewe knyghte, þat tristlyly hade foghten,
 Neptolemus, a noble knyghte, at nede þat wolde noghte fayle,
 Palamedes, a prise knyghte, and preued in armes,
 Vlives and Ercules þatþ euerous were bothe,
 330 And oþer fele of þat ferde fared of the same,
 As Dittes and Dares demed[e]n togedir.

- A**FTIR this *sir* Alysaunder alle þ^e worlde wanne,
 Bothe the see and the sonde and the sadde erthe,
 Þe iles of the oryent to Ercules boundes,
 335 Ther Ely and Ennoke euer hafe bene sythen,
 And to the come of Antecriste vnclosede be þay neuer;
 And conquered Calcas knyghtly ther-aftire,
 Ther jentille Jazon þ^e [Gr]ewe wane þe flese of golde.
 Then grathede he hym to Gadres the gates full righte,
 340 And there *sir* G[adyfer]e þ^e gude the G[a]derayns assemblat,
 And rode oute full ryally to rescowe the praye;
 And þan Emenyduse hym mete, and made hym full tame,
 And girdes Gadyfere to the grounde, gronande full sore,
 And there that doughty was dede, and mekill dole makede.
 345 Then Alixander the emperour, þat athell kyng hym-seluen,
 Arayed hym for to ryde with the renkes þat he hade:
 Ther was the mody Meneduse, a mane of Artage,
 He was duke of þat douth and a dussypere;
 Sir Filot and sir Florydase, full ferse men of armes;
 350 Sir Clyton and sir Caulus, knyghtis full noble;
 And sir Garsyene the gaye, a gude man of armes;
 And sir Lyncamoure thaym ledys with a lighte will.
 And than sir Cassamus thaym kepide, and the kyng prayede
 To fare in-to Fesome his frendis to helpe;
 355 For one Carrus the kynge was comen owte of Inde,
 And hade Fozome affrayede and Fozayne asegeded
 For dame Fozonase the faire that he of lufe by-soughte.
 The kynge agreed hym to goo and graythed him sone,
 In mendys of Amenyduse þat he hade mys-done.
 360 Then ferde he to-warde Facron, and by the flode abydes,
 And there he tichte vp his tentis and taried there a while.
 There knyghtis full kenely caughten their leue
 To fare in-to Fozayne dame Fozonase to see,

And Idores and Edease, alle by-dene;

- 365 And there *sir* Porus and his prynces to the poo avowed;
 Was neuer speche by-fore spoken sped bettir aftir,
 For als þay demden too doo, thay deden full euen.
 For there *sir* Porus the prynce in-to the prese thrynges,
 And bare the batelle one bake, and abashede thaym swythe,
 370 And than the bolde Bawderayne bowes to the kyng,
 And brayde owte the brighte brande owt of the kynges
 hande,

And Florydase full freschely foundes hym aftir,
 And hent the helme of his hede and the halse crakede.

Than *sir* Gadeferre, the gude, gripis his axe,

- 375 And in-to the Indyans ofte auntirs hym sone,
 And thaire stiffe standerte to stikkes he hewes,
 And than *sir* Cassamus, the kene, Carrus releues;
 When he was fallen appon fote he fet hym his stede;
 And aftir that *sir* Cassamus *sir* Carus he drepitt,
 380 And for þat poynte *sir* Porus perset hym to dethe;
 And than the Indyans ofte vttire þam droghen,
 And fledden faste of the felde and Alexandere suede.
 When þay were skaterede and skayled and skyftede in
 sondere,

Alyxandere, oure athell kyng, ames hym to lenge,

- 385 And fares in-to Fozayne, festes to make,
 And weddis wy vn-to wy that wilnede to-gedire.
 Sir Porus, the pryce knyghte, moste praysed of othere,
 Fonge Fozonase to fere, and fayne were thay bothe;
 The bolde Bawderayne of Baderose, *sir* Cassayle hym-seluen,
 390 Bele Edyas the faire birde, bade he no noþer;
 And *sir* Betyes, the beryne, the beste of his tyme,
 Idores, his awnn lufe, aughte he hym-seluen.
 Then iche lede hade the loue that he hade longe 3ernede,
 Sir Alixander, oure emperour, ames hym to ryde,

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395 And bewes to-wardes Babyloyn, *with* the beryns þat were
leuede,
By-cause of dame Cand[ac]e that comforthed hym moste;
And that cite he by-segede, and assayllede it aftire,
While hym the 3atis were 3ete, and 3olden the keyes;
And there that pereles prynce was puysonede to dede;
400 þare he was dede of a drynke, as dole es to here,
That the curssede Cassander in a cowpe hym broghte.
He conquered with conqueste kyngdomes twelue,
And dalte thaym to his dussypers when he the dethe
tholedge,
And thus the worthieste of this werlde wente to his ende.

X.

405 **T**HANE *sir* Sezere hym-seluen, that Julyus was hatten,
Alle Englande he aughte at his awnn will,
When the Bruyte in his booke Bretayne it callede.
The trewe toure of Londone in his tyme he makede,
And craftely the condithe he compaste there aftire,
410 And then he droghe hym to Dovire, and duellyde there a
while,
And closede ther a castelle with cornells full heghe;
Warnestorede it full wiesely, als witnesses the sothe,
For there es hony in that holde holden sythen his tyme.
Than rode he in to Romayne, and rawns[on]ede it sone;
415 And Cassabalount þ^e kynge conquerede there-aftire;
Then graythed he hym in-to Grece, and gete [it] hym be-lyue;
The semely cite Alexaunder seside he ther-aftire,
Affrike and Arraby and Egipt the noble;
Surry and Sessoyne sessede he to-gedir,
420 With alle the iles of the see appon iche a syde.
Thies thre were paynymes full priste, and passed alle othire.

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

XI.

OF thre Jewes full gentill jugge[n] we aftir,
 In the Olde Testament as the storye tellis,
 In a booke of the Bible that breues of kynges,
 425 And renkes þat rede kane *Regum* it callen.
 The firste was gentill Josue þat was a Jewe noble,
 Was heryet for his holynes in-to heuen-riche.
 When Pharaoo had slayede the folkes of Israelle,
 Thay ranne into the Rede See for radde of hym-seluen;
 430 And than Josue the Jewe, *Jhesus* he prayed
 That the peple myghte passe vnpereschede that tyme;
 And than the see sett vp appon sydes twayne,
 In manere of a mode walle that made were with hondes,
 And thay soughten ouer the see, sownnde, alle to-gedir;
 435 And Pharaoo full fersely-folowede thaym aftire,
 And eftre Josue þ^e Jewe *Jhesus* he prayede,
 And the see sattillede agayne and sanke thaym there-inn,—
 A soppe for the Sathanas, vnsele haue theire bones!
 And aftire Josue þ^e Jewe full gentilly hym bere,
 440 And conquerede kynges and kyngdomes twelue,
 And was a conqueroure full kene and moste kyd in his tyme.

XII.

THAN Daid the doughty, thurghe D[r]ightyn[es] sonde,
 Was caughte from kepyng of schepe, & a kyng made.
 The grete grym Golyas he to grounde broghte,
 445 And sloughe hym with his slynge & with no sleghte ells.
 The stone thurghe his stele helme stang† into his brayne,
 And he was dede of that dynt: the deuyll hafe that reche!
 And than was Daid full dere to Drightyn hym-seluen,
 And was a prophete of pryse, and praysed full ofte;
 450 Bot þit greued he his God gretely ther-aftire,
 For Vrye his awnn knyghte in aventure he wysede,

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THREE AGES

There he was dede at that dede, as dole es to here ;
For Bersabee his awnn birde was alle pat bale rerede.

XIII.

THE gentill Judas Machabee was a Jewe kene,
455 And there-to worthy in were, and wyse of his dedis :
Antiochus and Appolyne, aythere he drepide :
And Nychanore, ano^{per} kynge, full naytly there-aftire :
And was a conquerour kydded, and knawen with the beste.
Thies thre were Jewes full joly and justers full noble,
460 That full loughes haue bene layde [of], full longe tyme :
Of sicke doughety doers [deme] what es worthen.

XIV.

OF the thre Cristen to carpe couthely there-aftir,
pat were conquerours full kene and kyngdomes wonnen :
Areste was *sir* Arthure, and eldeste of tyme,
465 For alle Inglande he aughte at his awnn will,
And was kynge of this kythe, and the crowne hade.
His courte was at Carlele comonly holden,
With renkes full ryalle of his rownnde table,
pat Merlyn with his maystries made in his tyme,
470 And sett the sege perillous so semely one highte,
There no segge scholde sitt bot hym scholde schame tyde,
Owthir dethe with-inn the thirde daye demed to hym-seluen,
Bot *sir* Galade the gude that the gree wanne.
There was *sir* Launcelot de Lake full lusty in armes,
475 And *sir* Gawayne the gude that neuer gome harmede,
Sir Askanore, *sir* Ewayne, *sir* Errake fytz Lake,
And *sir* Kay the kene and kyd of his dedis,
Sir Perceualle de Galeys pat preued had bene ofte,
Mordrede and Bedwere, men of mekyll myghte,
480 And othere fele of that ferde, folke of the beste.

- Then [R]oystone þe riche kyng, full rakill of his werkes,
 He made a blyot† to his bride of the berdes of kynges,
 And aughtilde *sir* Arthures berde one scholde be;
 Bot Arthure, oure athell kyng, anoþer he thynkes,
 485 And faughte with hym in the felde till he was fey worthen.
 And þan *sir* Arthure, oure [athell] kyng, ames hym to ryde:
 Vppon Sayn Michaelles mounte meruaylles he wroghte,
 There a dragone he dreped, þat drede was full sore;
 And than he sayled ouer the see into sere londes,
 490 Whils alle the beryns of Bretayne bewede hym to fote.
 Gascoyne and Gyane gatt he there-aftir,
 And conquered kyngdomes and contrees full fele.
 Than ames he in-to Inglonde into his awnn kythe:
 The gates to-wardes Glassthenbery full graythely he rydes;
 495 And ther *sir* Mordrede hym mett by a more syde,
 And faughte with hym in the felde to alle were fey worthen,
 Bot Arthur oure athell kyng, and [Ewan] his knyghte.
 And when the felde was flowen *and* fey bot thaym-seluen,
 Than Arthure *sir* [Ewan] athes, by his trouthe,
 500 That he swiftly his swerde scholde swynge in the mere,
 And whatt selcouthes he see, the sothe scholde he telle.
 And [Ewan] swith to the swerde, and swange it in the mere,
 And ane hande by the hiltys hastely it grippes,
 And brawndeschet that brighte swerde, and bere it a-waye:
 505 And [Ewan] wondres of this werke, and wendes by-lyue
 To his lorde, there he hym lefte, and lokes abowte,
 And he ne wiste in alle this werlde where he was by-comen:
 And then he hyghes hym in haste, and hedis to the mere,
 And seghe a bote from the banke and beryns there-inn.
 510 There-inn was *sir* Arthure and othire of his ferys,
 And also Morgn la faye that myche couthe of sleghte,
 And there ayther segge seghe othir laste, for sawe he hym
 no more.

XV.

SIR Godfraye de Bolenn sicke grace of God hade
 pat alle Romanye he rode and rawnnunte it sone ;
 515 þ^e Amorelle of Antyoche aftire he drepit,
 pat was called Corborant, kiluarde of dedis ;
 And aftir he was callede kynge, and the crownn hade
 Of Jer[u]salem and of the Jewes gentill to-gedir,
 And with the wirchiþe of this werlde he went to his ende.

XVI.

520 **T**HAN was *sir* Cherlemayne chosen chefe kynge of Fraunce,
 With his doghty doussypers, to do als hym lykede ;
 Sir Rowlande the riche and Duke Raynere of Jene,
 Olyuer and Aubrye and Ogere Deauneys,
 And *sir* Naymes at the nede that neuer wolde fayle,
 525 Turpyn and Terry, two full tryed lordes,
 And *sir* Sampson hym-selfe of the Mounte Ryalle,
 Sir Berarde de Moundres, a bolde beryn in armes,
 And gud *sir* Gy de Burgoyne, full gracyous of dedis ;
 The katur fitz Emowntez were kydde k[nyght]es alle,
 530 And oþer moo than I may myne or any man elles.
 And then *sir* Cherlles þe chefe ches for to ryde,
 And paste to-wardes Polborne to prouen his strenghte :
 Salamadyne the Sowdane he sloghe with his handis,
 And þat [cite] he by-segede, and saylede it full ofte,
 535 While hym his ȝernynge was ȝett and the ȝates opynede ;
 And Witthyne thaire wayed kynge wolde nott abyde,
 Bot soghte into Sessoyne socoure hym to gete,
 And Cherlemayne, oure chefe kynge, cheses in-to the burgh,
 And dame Naoles anone he name to hym-seluen,
 540 And married hir to Maundevelyke þat scho hade myche louede,
 And spedd hym into hethyn Spayne spedely there-aftire,
 And fittilled† hym by Flagott faire for to loge.

And he tyed hym yn hasty & hely toward p^rmor.
And he se a bote fro p^ro bank & berne & p^rymd.
Ther yn was p^r Arthure & o^r of h^re fernd.
& also morgon of lawfay pat moche wode of fyghe.
That segge se he liff p^r for p^ro h^re no mor.

102

S. **S**ir Godfrow de Bolovyn. f^ras g^re of god he had.
pat all romayn he raved & ransomed it ful d^ro.
The Emperat of Antioch. after he d^repnd.
That was called Corborant Edward of dede.
And after he was called King & Erolon had.
Of p^rim & jmyr gentilly to g^ridre.
And w^t warfayp of p^ro world he went to h^re ende.

Godfrow
Bolovyn

Chen fr^r Charlesmarn was chasyn King of ffraunce.
w^t h^re doughti dichepore to do as hym l^rith.
S. **S**ir Bololand p^ro rich Duke & p^r Vaner p^ro f^ram.
Olober & Ambrey & oggerd t^ris demp.
And p^r Nas co adnad p^r nebr. Wold fante.
Enpyn & terry tho ful t^rod knight.
And p^r Samson hym f^rolom of p^ro molent bovall.
Sir Berand de hundres a bold bernd yn armde.
And gode p^r Em of f^rurgen full gracions of dede.
And Eutresiz Emomter wode l^re knight all.
And othev mo p^ryn j m^ro medns or any man othe.
And King Charles p^ro ches ches f^ro to bido.
And pass to toward p^roins to p^ro h^re f^ruenty.

Charles

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES

There Olyuer the euerous aunterde hym-seluen,
 And faughte with *sir* Ferambrace, and fonge hym one were,
 545 And than they fologhed hym in a fonte, and Florence hym
 callede ;
 And than moued he hym to Mawltryples *sir* [Merchel] to
 seche,
 And that Emperour at Egremorte aftir he takes,
 And wolde hafe made *sir* [Merchel] a man of oure faythe,
 And garte feche forthe a founte byfore þis eghne ;
 550 And he dispysede it and spitte and spournede it to the erthe,
 And one swyftely with a swerde swapped of his hede ;
 And dame Floripe þ^e faire was [fologhed] there-aftire,
 And kende thaym to the corownne þat Criste had one hede,
 And the nayles, anone, nayttly there-aftire,
 555 When he with passyoun and pyne was [put] one the rode.
 And than those reliques so riche redely he takes,
 And at Sayne Denys he þaym dide, and duellyd there for
 euer.
 And than bodworde vnto [Balame] full boldly he sendys,
 And bade hym Cristyne by-come and one Criste leue,
 560 Or he scholde bette down his b[urgh] and brenn hym
 there-inn :
 And garte Genyone goo that erande that greuede thaym alle
 Than rode he to Rowncyuale, þat rewed hym aftire,
 There *sir* Rowlande, the ryche Duke, refte was his lyfe ;
 And Olyuer, his awnn fere, that ay had bene trewe,
 565 And *sir* Turpyn the trewe, that full triste was at nede,
 And full fele othir folke, als ferly were elles.
 Then suede he the Sarazenes seuen þere and more,
 And the Sowdane at Saragose full sothely he fyndis,
 And there he bett down þ^e burghe, and *sir* [Balame] he take,
 570 And that day he dide [hym] to the dethe, als he had wele
 seruede.

Bot by than his wyes were wery, and woundede full many,
 And he fared into France to fongen thaire riste,
 And neghede to-warde Nerbone that noyede thaym full sore,
 And pat cite he asseggede appone sere halfues,
 575 While hym the zates were zette *and* zolden the keyes,
 And Emorye made Emperour, euen at that tyme,
 To [haue] and to holde it to hym and† his ayers.
 And then thay ferden in-to Fraunce to fongen thaire ese,
 And at Sayn Denys he dyede, at his dayes tyme.
 580 Now hafe I neuened zow the names off nyne of þ^e beste
 pat euer were in this werlde wiste appon arthe,
 And the doghtyeste of dedis in thaire dayes tyme,
 Bot doghetynes, when dede comes, ne dare noghte habyde.

XVII.

OF wyghes pat were wyseste will ze now here,
 585 And I schall schortly zow schewe and schutt me ful sone.
 Arestotle he was arste in Alexander tyme,
 And was a fyne philozophire and a fynour noble,
 [H]e g[er]te Alexander to graythe and gete golde when hym
 liste,
 And multiplie metalles with mercurye watirs,
 590 And with his ewe ardaunt and arsneke pouders,
 With salpetir and sal-jeme and siche many othire,
 And menge his metalles and make fyne siluere,
 And was a [b]lauchere of the best thurgh blaste of his fyre.
 Then Virgill, thurgh his vertus, ver[r]ayle he maket
 595 Bodes of brighte brasse full boldely to speke,
 To telle whate be-tydde had, and whate be-tyde scholde,
 When Dioclesyane was dighte to be dere emperour;
 Of Rome and of Romanye the rygalte he hade.

XVIII.

600 **T**HAN *sir* Salomon hym-selfe sett hym by hy[s] one ;
 His Bookes in the Bible bothe bene to-gedirs.
 That one of wisdom and of witte wondirfully teches ;
 His sampills and his sawes bene sett in the toþer ;
 And he was the wyseste in witt that euer wonned in erthe ;
 And his techynges will bene trowde whills þ^e werlde standes,
 605 Bothe with kynges and knyghtis and kayzers ther-inn.

XIX.

MERLYN was a meruayllous man, and made many
 thynges,
 And naymely nygromancye nayttede he ofte,
 And graythe[d] Galyan a boure to [gete] hir þer-in,
 That no wy scholde hir wielde ne wyne from hym-seluen.
 610 Theis were the wyseste in the worlde of witt þat euer ȝitt
 were,
 Bot dethe wondes for no witt to wende were hym lykes.

XX.

NOW of the prowdeste in presse þat *paramoures* loueden
 I schalle titly ȝow telle, and tary ȝow no lengere.
 Amadase and Edoyne, in erthe are thay bothe,
 615 That in golde and in grene were gaye in thaire tyme ;
 And *sir* Sampson hym-selfe, full sauage of his dedys,
 And Dalyda his derelynge,† now dethe has þam bo[th]e.
 Sir Ypomadonn de Poele, full priste in hi[s] armes,
 þ^e faire Fere de Calabre, now faren are they bothe.
 620 Generides þ^e gentill, full joly in his tyme,
 And Clarionas þat was so clere, are [closede in] erthe.
 Sir Eglamour of Artas, full euerous in armes,
 And Cristabelle the clere maye es crept in hir graue ;
 And *sir* Tristrem the trewe, full triste of hym-seluen,

625 And Ysoute, his awnn lufe, in erthe are þay bothe.
 Whare es now Dame Dido was qwene of Cartage ?
 Dame Cand[ac]e the comly,† quene of Babyloynne ?
 Penelopie that was price and pas[sid] alle othere,
 And dame Gaynore the gaye, nowe grauen are thay bopen ;
 630 And othere moo than I may mene, or any man elles.

XXI.

SYTHEN doughtynes when dede comes ne dare noghte
 S habyde, *habyde*
 Ne dethe wondes for no witt to wende where hym lykes,
 And thereto paramours and pride puttes he full lowe,
 Ne there es reches ne rent may rawnsone þour lyues,
 635 Ne noghte es sekire to þoure-selfe in certayne bot dethe,
 And he es so vncertayne that sodaynly he comes,
 Me thynke þ^e wele of this werlde werthes to noghte.
 Ecclesiastes the clerke declares in his booke
Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas,
 640 þat alle [es] vayne[st of] vanytes, and vanyte es alle ;
 For-thi amendes þoure mysse whills þe are men here,
Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio ;
 For in helle es no helpe, I hete þow for sothe ;
 Als God in his gospels graythely þow teches,
 645 *Ite ostendite vos sacerdotibus,*
 [G]o schryue þow full schirle, and schewe þow to prestis ;
Et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis,
 And þat þe wronge [haue] wroghte schall worthen full clene.
 Thou man in thi medill elde, hafe mynde whate I saye !
 650 I am thi sire and thou my sone, the sothe for to telle,
 And he the sone of thi-selfe, þat sittis one the stede,
 For Elde es sire of Midill Elde, and Midill-elde of þouthes :
 And haues gud daye, for now I go ; to graue moste me wende ;
 Dethe dynges one my dore, I dare no lengare byde.'

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655 When I had lenged and layne a full longe while,
I herde a bogle one a bonke be blowen full lowde,
And I wakkened therwith and waytted me vmbe ;
Than the sone was sett and syled full loughe ;
And I founded appon fote and ferkede towarde townn.
660 And in the monethe of Maye thies mirthes me tydde,
Als I schurtted me in a schelfe in þ^o schawes faire,
And belde me in the birches with bewes full smale,
And lugede me in the leues þat lighte were & grene :
There, dere Drightyne, this daye dele vs of thi blysse,
665 And Marie, þat es mylde qwene, amende vs of synn !

Amen Amen.

Thus endes THE THRE AGES.

NOTES

'MS.' indicates a reference to MS. 31042, which is taken as the basis of the text; 'B.' refers to the fragmentary MS. 33994. Both the MSS. were printed *in extenso* in the *editio princeps*, Roxburghe Club, 1897, prepared by the present editor for the late Sir John Evans. The variant readings are limited to such as seem to be of any importance for the text; most of the unrecorded errors appear to be of no interest, save as illustrations of textual corruptions. 'K.' refers to the review of the book by the late Professor E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, xxv. 2 (Breslau, 1898); 'S.' = *Studien über den Stabreim in der mitttelenglischen Alliterationsdichtung von Karl Schumacher* (*Bonner Studien z. eng. Phil.* vol. xi), 1914.

I. TEXTUAL NOTES

- 1 MS. monethes. 14 (?) threp[d]en. 31 MS. v fyve.
 48 MS. mytid (= mȳtid = myntid). 69 MS. brayde his bowells.
 70 MS. sililte; S. slitte (*cp.* l. 81).
 72 (?) [at þe] chefe; K. (*who compares* 'on þe chefe of þe cholle',
 Aunt. of Arth. 114).
 84 MS. pawche. 105 MS. moten. 106 MS. hande-while.
 113 MS. i-liche; S. egheliche (*cp.* l. 28). 132 MS. cropoure.
 135 MS. semely. 144 MS. pufilis. 164 K. (?) hoping.
 166 [I] *omitted in* MS. 173 MS. seyden.
 176 MS. my lady with. 180 K. 'ones' *for* MS. onere.
 228 B. with þe butte. 232 MS. maryo; B. marow.
 233 quotes; *better perhaps* B. whopis.
 234 quysses; B. wharris. MS. quypes, (?) and q. B. & whopes.
 235 MS. cheresche hym; B. cheris þem.
 238 Lowppes in; B. Lappis vp.
 243 chefe; B. chefe (= chese) to þ^e. 252 MS. thaire; B. þey.
 260 MS. thou haste longe sparede; B þou spared. *No space in* MS.
 263 B. *omits* well; MS. *omits* ful; B. ful. 268 B. *omits* And.
 269 sekis; B. feche. 281 B. Igate.
 283 B. vndur-yede; S. vnder-ede. 297 MS. ix nyne.
 300 K. areste, *for* MSS. firste. 301 B. trochis.
 308 MS. xix; B. nynety. 313 tulke; B. toure.
 319 B. he pulled. 320 MS. the heuen; B. hevyn.
 321 B. and to the troge of Troy he tendith for socour.
 322 MS. semblen; B. semblid. MS. sorely; B. surely.
 325 MS. þe quene; *so* B.
 327 B. Septelamus a noble knyght and proued yn armes; S., N. a noble
 knyght þat neuer wolde fayle (*cp.* l. 327).
 329 MS. þat full; B. *omits* full.
 331 MS. and demedon; B. demyn.
 338 Jazon; B. Josue; MS. jewe.
 340 MS. godfraye; *so* B. MS. goderayns; B. his gedring.
 348 B. þat duche. 354 B. frende.
 357 S. þat he fayne wolde loue. 364 B. alle the þes.

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- 365 B. peris. 371 S. the beryns hamde. 389 B. Cassabul.
 396 MS. Candore; B. Cadace. 412 B. Warme-storid.
 414 MS. rawnsede; B. raunsomed. 421 B. prest.
 422 MS. jugge; B. jugges were aftur. 428 B. folk.
 429 Thay; B. þt. 438 B. for Sathanas.
 442 MS. deightyn; B. drighten found.
 446 MS. stongen; B. the stones . . . stang.
 451 B. in awnter he vised. 460 MS. sythen gane full; B. of ful.
 451 *Not in B.*; MS. looke. 464 S. aldeste; B. best yn his.
 471 B. hym schame; (?) schame *for* sorwe; *cp. S. p. 95.*
 481 MS. Boystone. 482 MS. Ablyot.
 486 K. [athell], not in MSS. (*cp. l. 497*).
 497, 499, 505 MS. Wawayne; B. Ewan.
 498 felde; B. folk; the latter reading is preferred by K.
 502 MS. sir Wawayne swith; B. Ewan start swith.
 518 MS. Jerasalem. 525 B. knyghtes. 529 MS. kynges.
 534 MS. þat he; B. *þat* Cite he. 542 MS. fittilled.
 546 MS. Balame; B. Marchel.
 548 MS. Balame; B. marcel. 549 MS. with his; B. his.
 552 MS. cristen; B. halowd.
 555 MS. naylede; B. was on þe rode naylid.
 558 MS. vnto Merchill; B. Balaam. 560 MS. borowes; B. burgh.
 569 MS. sir Merchill; B. balam.
 570 B. That day he dud hym to deed. S. (?) duly *for* wele.
 577 MS. kepe it; B. haue & hald; MS. to hym and to; B. to hym and his.
 580 MS. ix nyne. 588 MS. The grete.
 592 B. And myngyng his materalse.
 593 MS. plaunchere; B. blawcher. 594 MS. veruayle; B. veryall
 599 MS. hym one; B. his one. 604 *Not in B.*
 608 MS. graythen; B. grathid. MS. kepe; B. gete.
 617 MS. and now dethe. MS. boghte; B. now deth hath þem bothe.
 618 MS. hir; B. his. 621 are bothe nowe bot erthe; *so B.*
 626 K. (?) 'duchesse', *for* 'qwene'; the line is omitted in B.
 627 MS. Candore; *so B.* MS. was called quene; *so B.*
 628 MS. pasten; B. passid. 635 B. ne certayne.
 640 MS. vayne and; *so B.* 646 MS. To; B. Go.
 648 MS. And 3e þat wronge wroghte; B. & S. þat ye haue wrong
 wrought shall worth. 658 B. salid.

II. EXPLANATORY AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

2-7. The conventional opening of the poem is suggestive of the Prologue of *Piers the Plowman*.

9-16. *Cp. Le Roman de la Rose*, ll. 55-80.

14. *Cp.* 'The throstills full throly they threpen to-gedire;'

Winnere and Wastoure, 37.

21-99. The deer-stalking in this poem supplements the description of the hunting of the deer, the boar, and the fox, in *Gawain and the Green Knight*; *cp.* this passage with ll. 1328-56.

27. (?) Like thy foot was each antler, 'frayed' (*i.e.* rubbed) in the thickets; for 'feetur' *cp.* 'affeted', in the sense of 'well proportioned', *Master of the Game*, ed. Baillie-Grohman, 1914.

35. when the wynde faylede, refers to the deer getting to windward of the hunter, and smelling him; when there was no wind, the stag had to watch all round.

44. 'drew up my tiller' (*i.e.* handle of a cross-bow), and bent the cross-bow, viz. by putting the string into a notch.

53. I hallede to the hokes, *i.e.* I hauled to, pulled up, the hook or trigger beneath the crossbow. 'Hoke' should probably be read for 'hokes'.

67. tached, fastened; probably the stag's head was pushed back, so that his throat was upward, and his horns down.

80. *Cp.* ' & þe corbeles fee thay kest in a greue,' *Gawain*, 1355.

91. þe fete of the fourche I feste thurgh the sydis, *i.e.* 'the feet of the haunch I fastened through the sides'. Perhaps this refers to pushing one foot through the side of the other foot. This gives something to hold by. He then *heaved* it, by putting his hand through the loop.

94. fostere of the fee; *i.e.* (probably) 'foster in fee'; 'forester, a sworn officer of the Forest, appointed by the King's Letters Patent to walk the Forest, watching both the Vert and the Venison, attaching and presenting all Trespassers against them, within their own Bailiwick or Walk. . . . And though these Letters Patent are ordinarily granted but *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, yet they are granted to some and their Heirs, who are hereby called *Foresters*, or *Foresters in Fee*'. Blount, *Law Dictionary*, 1717. An interesting illustration of the tomb of 'a foster of fee' is given in Sir H. Dryden's *Art of Hunting*, by William Twici, 1843.

98. how it cheuede, *i.e.* how things went.

189. 'If you have caught your horse, you are anxious about no waggon-load', i.e. you only care to have a horse to ride, not for agriculture; cp. *Winnere and Wastoure*, ll. 239-40.

213. And than the hawteste in haste hyghes to the towre: 'to the towre,' a technical term of falconry; Fr. *tour*, a turn, wheel, flight; cp. 'Shee (the hobby) is of the number of those Hawkes that are hie flying & towre Hawks,' Turberville, *Booke of Falconrie*, p. 53, ed. 1611. The word was probably confused with the ordinary 'tower'; cp. 'A falcon towering in her pride of place'; *Macbeth*, II. iv. 12, 13.

237. cowers (B. cours); the word is perhaps an Anglicized form of Fr. *cuir*, familiar to readers of Middle English in the compound *cuir-bouilli* (i.e. boiled leather; leather soaked in hot water, and when soft, moulded or pressed into any required form), *coer-buille*, *qwyrbolle*, *curbulze*, etc. No instance is recorded in *N. E. D.* of the present word, which seems to signify *leather braces* for keeping on the hood. In modern Falconry 'to couple up the cowers' is 'to draw the hood', i.e. 'to draw the braces which open and close the hood behind'.

238. Lowppes in thaire lesses thorowe vertwells of siluere, i.e. *varvels*, or flat rings of silver, with the owner's name engraved thereon. These rings were permanently attached to the end of the jesses, and through these one end of the leash was passed, the other end being prevented from going through by a leather button. (Cp. Harting's *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, pp. xx, xxi, et passim.) 'Vertwells' probably for some word with 'l', (?) 'lainers'.

262. 'this thirtene wynter', i.e. a dozen years and more, since he was about seventeen, cp. l. 133; for a similar use of 'thirtene', cp. 'threppede thorowe þe thykkys thryttene sythis', *Morte Arthure*, 2216.

271. euerrous; this epithet occurs five times in the poem, and reminds one of 'yeuer, yeuernes, yeuerus, zyueris, zyuerus, yeverly', in the *Alliterative Troy Book*. The two forms are both, I think, to be referred to OE. *gifre*; cp. *zyuernes*, *Old Eng. Misc.* 'Every' and 'yevery' are found as variants in Scottish dialects; Dr. Wright (under 'aiverie' in *E. D. D.*) derives from 'AF. *avoir* Lat. *habere*, +y'; S. proposes to explain 'euerrous' as from the same alleged French source +ous. If, as I maintain, 'euerrous' and 'zeuerous' are identical, they serve to differentiate the two poems in a striking manner.

300-31. The source of this account of Hector seems to have been Guido de Colonna's *Hystoria Troiana*; 'Dittes and Dares' (l. 331) is from Guido's prologue; cp. *Allit. Troy Book* (E. E. T. S.); Lydgate's *Troy Book* (E. E. T. S.); *The Seege of Troye*, ed. C. H. A. Wager, 1899.

332-404. Our author's main source for his account of Alexander was evidently the 'chanson de geste' called *Vœux du Paon*, by Jacques de Longuyon of Lorraine, who wrote it for Thibaut II, Duke of Lorraine (1304-12). In this poem we find the earliest enumeration of the Nine Worthies (vide Preface). A Scottish version of the poem, *The Buik of the most noble & vailand conquerour Alexander the Great*, was composed in 1438, printed by Alexander Arbuthnet at Edinburgh in 1580, and

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reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1831 (*cp.* Weber's *Metrical Romances*, vol. i, Appendix; Ward's *Catalogue of Manuscript Romances*, vol. i; A. Herrmann, *Ueber das Schottische Alexanderbuch*, 1893).

The popularity of the stories of Alexander is referred to by Chaucer in his 'littel tragedy' of Alexander, in *The Monkes Tale*.

334. þe iles of the oryent to Ercules boundes: *cp.* *Allit. Troy Book*, ll. 310-15; Lydgate's *Troy Book*, ll. 600-4, 610-11.

335-6. 'Ther Ely and Ennoke euer hafe bene sythen,

And to the come of Antecriste vnclosede þe pay neuer.'

The text represents the author's words; the substitution of 'Criste' in B. for 'Antecriste' is due to a scribe's attempt to improve the original. Ely (*i.e.* Elijah) and Ennoke play an important part in the Antichrist legend, and many allusions to them occur in early literature; *e.g.* 'Quis pugnaturus est in consummacione seculi cum Anticristo? Enoch et Elias' (*Adrian and Epictetus*, v. Kemble's *Salomon and Saturn*, p. 215). *Cp.* W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des neuen Testaments u. der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1895).

Elijah and Enoch figure in the Ethiopic version of the Alexander story (*cp.* Dr. Budge's translations of the Syriac and Ethiopic texts); but they are not found in the ordinary Pseudo-Callisthenes. The word 'vnclosede' suggests that our author has confused Elijah and Enoch with two other important and better-known personages of the Antichrist drama, who figure most prominently in the romances of Alexander, viz. Gog and Magog, whose mention in Ezekiel is probably answerable for the traditions concerning them to be found in the East and West. Already in the *Koran* it is told how Dhu'lkarnein (*i.e.* Alexander the Great) shut them up behind inaccessible mountains, and built the Caucasian wall which the giants could neither scale nor undermine (v. chap. xviii); *cp.* Mandeville's *Travels*.

337-8. 'And conquered Calcas knyghtly ther-aftire,

Ther jentille Jazon þe [Gr]ewe (MS. Jewe) wane þe flese of golde;'

[B. 'There jentill Josue þe Jewe wan þe slevis of gold.']

I am inclined to think that 'Jewe' of the MSS. is a scribal error for 'Grew' (*i.e.* Greek); the emendation relieves the author of a gross error, and at the same time restores the alliterative effect to the line.

I no longer suggest that our author may have read a version of the story in which Jason (or Joshua), and not (as in Josephus) Jaddus or Jaddua, was the name of the high-priest of Jerusalem who received Alexander the Great with so much honour, and confused him with Jason who won the Golden Fleece at Colchis.

347. the mody Meneduse, a mane of Artage: probably 'Emenidus of Arcadia' (in the Scottish version 'de Archarde'), the slayer of Gadifer the elder, referred to previously, l. 342.

355. one Carrus the kynge was comen owte of Inde, *i.e.* 'Clarvus li yndoïs' of the French romance.

356. Fozome, *i.e.* 'Fezome', or 'Fezonas', the sister of Gadifer's

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sons, Gadifer the younger and Betis (in the next line 'Fozonase' in A., 'fizonas' in B.). Their town was 'Phezon' (or 'Epheson'), here 'Fozayne'; 'Fesome,' 354.

360. **Facron** (?) = 'Phuron' (as in the *Vœux du Paon*).

364. **Idores and Edease**, *i.e.* 'Edée et Ydorus filles Antigonier.'

365. And there sir Porus and his prynces to the poo avowede, *i.e.* made their vows upon the peacock, which Porrus had shot; and Cassamus called upon the knights to make their vows when it was served up at table. (This forms the subject of Part II of *Vœux du Paon*; Part III deals with the accomplishment of the vows.)

370. the bolde **Bawderayne**, *i.e.* 'Cassiel li baudrains,' king of Bauderis or Media.

377. sir **Cassamus**, the **kene Carrus releues**: 'Carus' (as in ll. 355, 379) instead of 'Clarus'; Cassamus swore that if the Greeks won the battle, and he saw Clarus on foot and at disadvantage, he would relieve and remount him for the sake of Porrus, his son.

389. The bolde **Bawderayne of Baderose**, sir **Cassayle hym-seluen**: Cassiel is always referred to in the romance as 'li baudrains', or 'the baderane', *i.e.* a person of Baderis; evidently the origin of the name was lost sight of; hence 'the Bawderayne of Baderose' (*i.e.* Baderis); *cp.* note, l. 370.

405-20. Thane sir **Sezere hym-seluen** that **Julyus was hatten**, etc. Compared with the account of Julius Caesar given in the *Vœux du Paon*, these lines are noteworthy for the prominence they give to Caesar's connexion with Britain, and the traditions relating to his foundation of the Tower of London and Dover Castle. The reference to the former tradition is, as Koelbing pointed out, found in the oldest MS. of the metrical *Chronicle of England* (c. 1324); *cp.* Sternberg, *Eng. Stud.* xviii.

407. When the **Bruyte** in his booke **Bretayne** it callede, *i.e.* when the Brut, or Chronicle of British history, in its book called England 'Britain'. 'Bruyte' = a chronicle of British history from the mythical Brutus downwards, and referred originally to such works as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Brut*, *Le Roman de Brut* of Wace, or Layamon's *Brut*. According to Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans (*Academy*, No. 1035, p. 233), the transferred sense of Latin *Brutus*, French and Welsh *Brut* = *historia, chronica*, arose towards the end of the twelfth century. The words 'when the Bruyte in his booke Bretayne it callede' look like a mere amplification of the French original of the words 'all that was callit Bertane than' (*Vœux du Paon*), and probably do not refer directly to Layamon's *Brut*, though a full account of Caesar's defeat of Cassibelan is to be found there; *cp.* also *Ueber eine versificirte mittellenglische Chronik*, R. Sternberg, *Englische Studien*, xviii, pp. 375-6.

413. there es **hony** in that holde holden sythen his tyme. The following passage in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* throws light on the otherwise obscure meaning of the line: 'The Castle at Dover (say Lydgate and Rosse) was first builded by Julius Caesar, the Romane

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Emperour, in memorie of whome they of the Castell kept till this day certene vessels of old wine and salts, which they affirm to be the remaine of such provision as he brought unto it. As touching the which (if they be naturall and not sophisticate) I suppose them more likely to have been of that store which Hubert de Burgh laid in there.

423-5. Our author has not improved on his original in amplifying the simple reference to 'the Old Testament'.

The writer certainly did not read of Joshua and Judas Maccabeus in 'Regum', though the statement was true as far as David is concerned, for 1 and 2 Samuel were formerly called 1 and 2 Kings (*cp. Piers Plowman*, B. iii. 257).

426-41. The firste was gentill Josue pat was a Jewe noble, etc. The crossing of the Jordan is curiously blended with the crossing of the Red Sea, and to Joshua is assigned the rôle of Moses. The Hebrew *Joshua* is the same as the Greek *Jesus*, and Joshua is called Jesus in Acts vii. 45, Hebrews iv. 8. Joshua, the Leader of the Israelites to the promised land, was taken to be a type of Jesus the Leader of the faithful to the promised salvation:—

'Io vidi per la croce un lume tratto
del nomar Josuè, com' ei si feo,
nè mi fu noto il dir prima che'l fatto.'

Paradiso, xviii, ll. 37-9.

442-53. Than Daidid the doughty, thurghe D[r]ightyn[es] sonde, etc. Our author adds to the few lines in the *Vœux du Paon* a reference to the story of David's treachery towards Uriah, as a sort of protest to the unqualified praise there given; *cp.* 'he was ouer all sa wele doand' (*The Awewis of Alexander*).

444. Golyas, the regular mediaeval form of the Philistine's name, hence the buffoon Bishop Golias of the 'Apocalypsis Goliae' (whence E. goliardeys; Fr. goliardois; Lat. goliardus, goliardensis, etc.).

451. For Vrye his awnn knyghte in aventure he wysede. The present lines recall Langland's striking reference:

'Also Marie Magdelene·ho myghte do worsse
As in lykyng of lecherye·no lyf denyede?
And Daidid the douhty·that deynede how Vrye
Mighte slilokeste be slayn·and sente hym to werre
Leelliche as by hus lok·with a lettere of gyle...
Now beeth these seintes, as men seyen·and souereynes in heuene;'
(c. xii. 263-9).

453. For Bersabee his awnn birde: the ordinary form of the name in Middle English; *cp.* Wyclif's Bible, 2 Kings (= 2 Sam. A. V.) xi. 3: 'Than Daidid sente, and aserchede, what was the womman; and it is toold to hym, that she was *Bersabee*, the douzter of Elyam, the wijf of Vrye Ethei.' The form of the name is ultimately derived from the Septuagint, where *βηρσαβέ* occurs for 'Bath-sheba' or 'Bath-shua'.

454-61. The gentill Judas Machabee: the poet has added nothing to the brief account given in the *Vœux du Paon*.

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456. **Antiochus**: Chaucer makes Antiochus the subject of one of his 'tragedies' in *The Monkes Tale*.

464-512. **Areste was sir Arthure**, etc.: the writer has amplified his original, which deals mainly with Arthur's encounter with the giant on Mount Michael, by adding a summary account of Arthur's passing. In the MS. Wawayne (*i.e.* Gawain) takes the place of Sir Bedwere (ll. 497, 499, 502, 505), but it is clear from the alliterative structure of the line that Wawayne is a scribal error for a knight whose name begins with a vowel, and probably Text B. preserves the correct reading, viz. 'Ewan' (a scribal modification of 'Ewayne'). Possibly the poet had some authority for making 'Ewayne, le fyse de roy Vryence', the companion of Arthur before his passing away; on the other hand the error may have been due to ignorance of the romances (in the French prose Lancelot Girflet acts the part of Bedwere). Ewayne and Gawayne were cousins and great friends, the latter sharing the former's banishment when Arthur suspected him of being party to the plots of his mother Morgan. In British romance no knight occupies a more conspicuous position than Owain ab Urien Rheged. The Welsh story of 'The Lady of the Fountain' (Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*, vol. i); the English romance of 'Ywain and Gawain' (ed. Ritson, 1802; G. Schleich, Oppeln, 1887); Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*; the Icelandic 'Ivens Saga' (Kölbing's *Riddarasögur*, pp. 75-136); the Swedish 'Herr Ivan Lejon-Riddaren' (*Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet*, 1845-9); all these versions are for the most part derived from the *Chevalier au Lyon* by Chrestien de Troyes. The account deviates from the account given in the *Morte d'Arthur*, and from all the various versions considered in connexion therewith (*cp.* Sommer's *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. iii, pp. 265-78, etc.).

481. [B]oystone: so in *Vœux du Paon* the name of the giant is 'Ruston'. M. Paul Meyer has the following note on the form: 'Il faut lire Riton ou Rithon au lieu de Ruston. Il s'agit du géant Ritho dont Geoffroi de Monmouth (x. 3) raconte la défaite, et qui figure dans divers romans postérieurs. L'histoire du géant du Mont-Saint-Michel est racontée par Geoffroi de Monmouth dans le même chapitre.'

In *Morte Darthur* (Book I. xxvii) the story is told of 'Kyng Ryons' who had 'purfyled a mantel with kynges berdes and there lacked one place of the mantel', etc.; in I. xvii we have 'Ryence'; in the *Avowis of Alexander* 'Rostrik'; *cp.* W. Förster, *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* I. p. 91.

487. **Vppon Sayn Michaells mounte meruaylles he wroghte**, etc.; *cp.* *Morte Darthur*, Book V.

488. There a dragone he dreped: not a dragon, but a giant; *cp.* Alliterative *Morte Arthur*, ll. 840 ff.; so Malory. The dragon is only seen in a dream.

513-19. **Sir Godfraye de Bolenn**, etc.: it is difficult to understand why Godfrey precedes Charlemagne, unless it is due to the author's utter ignorance of chronology; his knowledge of the last of the Nine Worthies is certainly vague, nor has he clearly understood the six lines

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of his original; the historical Godfrey was not as attractive to the fourteenth-century poet as the legendary Charlemagne and Arthur; he was much too modern. William of Tyre's history of the First Crusade belongs to about 1170, and became the source of the accounts of Godfrey's achievements (*cp.* Caxton's *Godfrey of Boloyne, or Last Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. Dr. Mary N. Colvin, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, lxiv; Caxton's preface is especially noteworthy).

514. *Romanye*; *cp.* Caxton: 'In this tyme cam tydynges fro Rome that doubled theyr sorow and anguysshis'; 'Rome' = 'Romanye' (in the French, 'Roumanie'), derived from William of Tyre's 'in partibus Romanie', by which phrase he indicates the country between Constantinople and Antioch.

516. *Corborant*: generally called 'Corbaran' in the French poems on the crusades; properly, 'Kerbogha', Sultan of Aleppo; in the History of Godfrey he is named 'Corbagat'.

517. And aftir he was callede kynge, etc. William of Tyre tells how Godfrey refused to be called 'King of Jerusalem', not wishing to wear a crown of gold in that city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns. Baldwin, his brother, who succeeded him within two years, styled himself 'Rex Hierusalem, Latinorum Primus'.

520-83. The account of Charlemagne falls broadly into five divisions: (i) an enumeration of 'the doghty doussypers'; (ii) the war with the Saxons; (iii) Oliver's fight with Ferumbras; (iv) the disaster at Roncesvalles; (v) the siege of Narbonne, and the death of Charles. Our author can hardly have derived his story from any one source, and there are many curious elements in the passage elaborated from the few lines on Charlemagne in *Les Vœux du Paon*.

(i) Lines 522-9. The list of the peers does not coincide with that given in any of the French or English romances (*v.* *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, par Gaston Paris, p. 507; *Sir Ferumbras*, edited by Sidney J. Hertridge, p. 193; *The Sowdone of Babylone*, ed. E. Hausknecht (E. E. T. S.), p. xxvii. 'The Katur fitz Emowntez' (*i.e.* the Four Sons of Aymon) count together as one, so that the number may not exceed twelve, but several lists give sixteen or even more 'barons of thempereour Charles and pyeres of Fraunce'. Eight of the names enumerated in the present list are identical with those given in *Ferumbras*, viz. Roland, Oliver, Aubry, Ogere Deauneys (*i.e.* Ogier of Denmark), Naymes of Bavaria, Terry (*i.e.* Thierry), Berarde de Moundres (*i.e.* Berarde of Montdidier), Gy de Burgoyne (*i.e.* Guy of Burgundy). Raynere of Jene (*i.e.* Reyner of Genoa), the father of Oliver, figures in *Ferumbras*, but not as one of the *douzeperes*; Turpyne, Sampsonne (*i.e.* Samson of Burgundy, frequently mentioned in the lists), and 'the Katur fitz Emowntez' are not found there at all. Turpin, the knight-bishop of the romances, has an important place in the poem of *Aspremont*, in the *Enfances Ogier*. According to the *Chanson de Roland*, he met his death at Roncesvaux, and this narrative our author follows (*vide* l. 585). The *Chronicle of Turpin* makes him survive the battle. 'Terry and Turpyne' are mentioned together among the

douzeperes in the fragmentary English *Song of Roland* (ed. S. J. Herrtage, 'The Sege of Melayne', etc., E. E. T. S., pp. 105-36).

(ii) Lines 531-40 evidently epitomize the struggle between Charles and the Saxons which is the subject of Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saxons* (ed. Francisque Michel). The introduction of Salamadyne the Sowdane looks, however, like a confusion of Charlemagne with Godefroy of Bouillon, unless the familiar name is substituted for 'Agoulant' of *Les Vœux du Paon*. 'Polborne' (Text B. Puerne) is a crux; perhaps it is a corruption of 'Paderborn', where Charles held his great Champ-de-Mai, and which was certainly the most important spot in the struggles between the Franks and Saxons. The word recalls the equally difficult place-name 'Belferne' in the *Chanson de Roland* (stanza lxx, vide L. Gautier's last edition): 'Reis Almaris, de le regne de Belferne', where Belferne is glossed 'nom de royaume païen (?)'; in the English *Roland*, Amaris is described as 'a prince of Portingall'.

536. Witthyne; Text B. 'Wyghtelyne'; = Guitelin (v. *Chanson des Saxons*) or Guitechin = Witikind or Widukind, the great Saxon leader, the hero of the Saxon wars against Charles, 'the Second Arminius of Germany'. I know no other record of the name in Early English literature.

539-40. I cannot discover whence the poet derived 'dame Naoles' as the name of the wife, and 'Maundevyle' as the name of her lover. In the *Chanson des Saxons* and other versions the lady's name is Sibile, and her lover is Baudouin, Roland's brother; their story forms an important part of the *Chanson*.

(iii) Lines 541-57. This condensation of the Romance of *Ferumbras* is remarkable for the introduction of 'Merchel' (i.e. 'Marsile', the pagan hero of *Roland*) instead of 'Balan' (as he is called in the French, Provençal, and English versions of *Syr Ferumbras*), or 'Laban' (cp. *The Sowdone of Babylone*); the correction, it is true, has been made in the text, but the alliteration of the line reveals the poet's error. 'Balan' was the father of Ferumbras; 'Marsile', the uncle of Ferragus. The former figures in the *Ferumbras* cycle; the latter in the *Roland* poems. No Charlemagne romance seems to have been more popular in England than 'the Romanys of worthi Ferambrace', wherewith it will be remembered 'the gud king' Bruce comforted his men, 'and maid thaim gamyn and solace' (cp. Barbour's *Bruce*, ed. Skeat, III, 435-66).

542. Flagott, i.e. Flagot, the Spanish river on which are situated the cities of Mantribre, or Mauntribre, here called 'Mawltriple', and Agremour, or Egremour, here 'Egremorte' ('Aigremont' *Ferumbras*). The Romance tells how when the twelve peers besieged in Agremar send Richard of Normandy to Charlemagne to ask his aid, Richard starts in the direction of Mantribre, but finding the bridge blocked up and guarded, he is obliged to swim across the water. Charlemagne, hearing of the distress of his peers, starts towards Mantribre, and then continues his march against the soudan at Agremar (cp. *The Sowdone of Babylone*; *Sir Ferumbras*, etc.).

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545. And than they fologhed hym in a fonte, and Florence hym callede; *cp.*

'Pan was cristned sir Firumbras, a man of gret deffens,
Ys name ther y-chaunged was, & was ihote Florens,
Ac þoȝ me tornde þar ys name, as þe manere was,
Euere ȝut after a baar þe same, & men cliped him Firumbras,'
(*Sir Ferumbras*, ll. 1086-9.)

551. And one swyftely, *i.e.* Sir Ogier.

555. [put]; *cp.* 'Þrow Pylat pyned he was, & put on þe rode',
Sege of Jerusalem, 8.

557. And at Sayne Denys, etc.

Cp. 'Karlemaines s'en va au moustier Saint Denis;
Là manda arcevesques, evesques benéis,
Les reliques lor monstre Damedieu Jhesu Cris.'
(*Vide Sir Ferumbras*, p. 188, l. 6076.)

The French Romance goes on to say that within three years came the treachery of Gwennelon:

'Ne tarda que iii. ans qu'Espaigne fu gastée;
Là fu la traïsons de Rollant pourparlée.'

duellyd there for euer: better, 'and [they] duelled there', etc.

(iv) Lines 558-70. This summary account of Genelon's treachery, and the battle of 'Rowncyuale', was evidently suggested by the closing lines of *Sir Ferumbras* (quoted above). 'Balame' (ll. 558, 569) is the poet's error for 'Merchel', to which it has been changed by some one better acquainted with the details of the story; the alliteration, however, has preserved the error.

561. Genyone: B. 'Golyan'; in *Sowdone of Babylone* the form is 'Genelyn'; in the English *Roland* 'Gwynylon'.

As far as the form in Text A. is concerned, it is noteworthy that the Latin 'Battle of Roncevaux' (*vide* Appendix to *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Francisque Michel) gives the name as 'Gueno', the colophon reading 'Explicit de tradicionne guenonis'. But perhaps 'Genyone' is merely a verbal error for 'Genylone'.

562. Rowncyuale: the regular English form of 'Roncesvalles'.

569. According to the *Chanson de Roland*, Marsile (here 'Balame') was fatally wounded by Roland a few moments before his own death.

(v) Lines 571-7. Emorye made Emperour, euen at that tyme, etc. Our author here alludes to 'Aimeri de Narbonne', whose story belongs to the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange, who saved Narbonne from the Saracens in 793 (*cp.* Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i, pp. 632-63; also *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne*, Société des Anciens Textes français).

577. To [haue] and to holde it; *cp.* 'þe fairest of Grèce | To haue and to hold', *Troy Book*, 2415.

586. Arestotle he was arste in Alexander tyme, etc.: the reference is obviously to the famous, though spurious, *Secretum*

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Secretorum Aristotelis, addressed under the name of Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great.

The greater part of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum* is from this work; and Chaucer, in his *Chanouns Yemannes Tale*, refers to 'the secree of secrees'; *cp. Secrees of old Philisoffres* (E. E. T. S., 1894).

594. Then Virgill, thurgh his vertus, ver[r]ayle he maket
Bodies of bryghte brasse full boldely to speke, etc.

The reference is to the story in the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* telling how Virgil, the enchanter, placed a magical image in the middle of Rome, which communicated to the Emperor Titus all the secret offences committed every day in the city. Among the many allusions to Virgil's magical powers perhaps the most interesting in English literature are Gower's story of the Magic Mirrors (*Confessio Amantis*, book v; *cp. also* book viii); the ninth tale of *The Seuen Sages* (Weber's *Metrical Romances*, vol. iii); the black-letter romance of Virgilius, printed at Antwerp in the year 1510; Lydgate's reference in *Tragedies of Bochas*, book ix, ch. i, st. 4. (The chief work dealing with 'Virgil in the Middle Ages' is Comparetti's; English trans., Sonnenschein.)

599-605. Than sir Salomon, etc.: the poet refers to (i) the apocryphal *Book of Wisdom*, and (ii) *Ecclesiasticus*; these books, attributed to Solomon, were in the Middle Ages better known than *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, the former probably owing to its allegorical interpretation; *cp. St. Augustine, De Trin.* vii. 3 'Cum pronuntiatur in Scriptura aut enarratur aliquid de *Sapientia* sive dicente ipsa sive cum de illa dicitur, Filius nobis potissimum insinuat'.
 599. by hy[s] one: this reading of B. gives the idiomatic form of the genitive with 'one', *i.e.* 'by himself alone'; *cp.* 'to kayre al his one', *Gawain*, 1048; 'we bot oure one', *ibid.*, 1230, 2245.

608. And graythe[d] Galyan (B. Golyan) a boure to [gete] hir
per-in,
That no wy scholde hir wiede ne wynne from hym-
seluen;

'Golyan' or 'Galyan' = 'Viviane' or 'Vivien', Lady of the Lake; the original form of the name seems to have been Ninian, transformed by scribes to Niuiian, Niuienne, Viuienne; Malory calls her Nymue or Nyneue.

The allusion to Vivien in connexion with Merlin's 'wit' is at first sight not altogether happy, for it recalls the weird scene in 'the deep forest glades of Broceliande', where 'the woman's wit triumphed over the sage's wisdom', and Vivien, turning Merlin's craft against himself, 'graythed a bour' for the great Enchanter to keep him there imprisoned, 'lost to life, and use, and name, and fame'.

Our author, however, alludes to an episode in the story of Merlin not found in Malory's account of the Vivien incident (book iv, ch. i). The explanation of the passage is to be found in the French *Suite de Merlin* (*vide* Sommer, vol. iii), where it is narrated that Merlin builds by the 'lac de Dyane' a palace so rich and beautiful that no king nor

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prince, 'en toute la petite Bretagne', could boast of possessing the like. Merlin by enchantment renders the palace invisible, so that no one who does not belong to Nivienne's 'maisonie' can see it. He stays there with Nivienne for a long time, and while he loves her best of all the world she hates him; she would fain be rid of him, but knows not how, he is so wise (*ibid.*, p. 118).

614. *Amadase* and *Edoyne* (B. 'Amadas & Ydoyne') are frequently referred to, in company with *Tristram* and *Isoude*, as the embodiments of ideal love, and as the subject of popular romances of the time; *cp. Cursor Mundi*, 1-20; *Lure Run, Old English Miscellany*, p. 95; E. E. T. S. (v. Appendix).

The fullest allusion occurs in the romance of *Emare* (*cp. Ritson's Metrical Romances*, vol. ii), where a beautiful description is given of a piece of cloth made by the daughter of the Amerayle of the Saracens, presented by the King of Cesyle to the Emperor Aetyus; thereupon were portrayed the love-stories of Idoyne and Amadas, *Tristram* and *Isowde*, *Florys* and *Blaunche flour*, and others.

Similar references are to be found in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (book vi, l. 879); in the romance of *Sir Degrevant* (l. 1478; v. *The Thornton Romances*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society, 1844), etc.

Probably no English version was ever made of the love-story of Idoyne and Amadas, though we have two variants of a romance of *Sir Amadace* (*vide Weber's Metrical Romances*, vol. iii, and Robson's *Three Metrical Romances*, Camden Society, 1842), but this is merely a fantastic tale of quixotic adventure, without any elements of romantic love. Idoyne is not even mentioned therein. The old French romance of the lovers is extant (*cp. Amadas et Ydoine*, ed. Hippeau, 1863; *Hist. Litt.* xxii; *Romania*, xviii; Gaston Paris, 'Sur Amadas et Idoine,' *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, 1901; Larminie's *West Irish Tales*). The romance was among the books bequeathed by Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to the Abbey of Bordesley in Worcestershire (*cp. Todd's Illustrations to Chaucer and Gower*, p. 161).

617. *Dalyda* (for 'Dalilah'), the ordinary mediaeval form of the name, was originally a Greek formation, due to analogy with words ending in *da*; the form is found in the Septuagint (Roger Bacon already alludes to the error, and explains it in his *Compendium Studii*; *vide Rolls edition*).

618. The romance of *Sir Ipomedon*, son of Hermogenes, King of Apulia, tells the chivalrous adventures of the hero before he wins the daughter of the Duke of Calabria for his wife. The name of the lady is not given in the English version, which is merely an abridgement from the French original, written about 1185 by Hue de Rotelande, a poet living at Credenhill, near Hereford, a contemporary of Walter Map, who (according to a passage at the end of Part I of the poem) excelled the author in the art of lying:

'Sul ne sai pas de mentir l'art,
Walter map reset ben sa part.'

Throughout the romance the young Duchess of Calabria is called

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'la fière pucelle', or 'La Fièrè'; hence 'pe faire Fero' of the text (vide Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the MS. Department of the British Museum*, vol. i, pp. 728-57; Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman Period*, pp. 338-40; *Ipomedon, in drei englischen Bearbeitungen*, E. Kölbing, Breslau, 1889).

620. Gonerides þ^e gentill, full joly in his tyme,
And Clarionas þat was so clere, etc.

The English versions of the romance of *Sir Generydes* belong to about the middle of the fifteenth century; the French original is lost. The same fate has befallen a Latin translation which was made from the French by 'a clerk at Hertford'. An English version of the tale was printed in the sixteenth century, but 'only a few mutilated fragments of the edition are known to exist'; cp. *Generydes; a Romance in Seven-line Stanzas*, edited by W. A. Wright; *Sir Gonerides*, ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club; O. Zirwer, *Untersuchungen zu den beiden Goneridesromanzen*, Breslau, 1889.

622. Sir Eglamour of Artas, full euerous in armes. The English metrical romance of *Sir Eglamour of Artois* was first printed by J. O. Halliwell in *The Thornton Romances*, from a Cambridge MS.; Ellis gave a full abstract in *Specimens of Early Metrical Romances*. It occurs also in the Percy Folio (cp. vol. ii, pp. 338-89). The romance relates how Eglamour loved 'Cristabella', the daughter of his lord, the Earl of 'Artas'; how she was delivered of a boy while her lover was absent on an expedition; how she and her child were turned adrift in a boat; how the child was carried away by a 'gryppe'; how, after a lapse of years, the son was nearly married to his mother; and how, eventually, he and his parents were happily united (cf. Ward's *Cat. of Romances, Brit. Mus.*, vol. i, pp. 766-7). The MSS. of *Sir Eglamour* are later than the end of the fourteenth century, or all events not earlier (cp. *Englische Studien*, vii, pp. 191 ff.). Its source is so far unknown; a French original has not been discovered. The poem is closely related to the romance of *Torrent of Portugal* (the only MS. of which belongs to the fifteenth century); cp. E. E. T. S., 1887; Zielke, *Zu Sir Eglamour*, Kiel, 1889; Schleich. *Archiv* xcii.

Sir Eglamour was printed at Edinburgh by Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, under the title of *Sir Glamor*, 1508, and subsequently at London by Copland and Walley (cp. Hazlitt's *Handbook to Early English Literature*, p. 177). In *Archiv* xcv J. Hall printed a fragment of an edition by Banks.

624. And sir Tristrem the trewe, etc.; cp. Note, l. 614. The most valuable of modern editions of *Sir Tristrem* is E. Kölbing's (Heilbronn, 1882).

629. Gaynore, i.e. Guinevere; cp. Wenore, *Gaw. and Gr. Kn.*, 945.

643. Cp. *Piers Plowman*, C. xxi. 153.

665. B. 'of oure mysse.' The rhyme is obviously an 'improvement' not due to the original writer of the poem.

GLOSSARY

- a, v. an.**
abasheded, *pt. 3 s.* discomfited, 369; AF. abaïss-, *lengthened stem of* OF. esbahir.
abouté, 76; **abowte**, 46; OE. onbūtan.
abydes, *v. habyde*.
adversarye, 311; OF. adversier.
affrayede, attacked, 356; AF. afrayer.
affire, 63; OE. æfter.
agayne, 437; OE. ongegn.
age, 164; OF. aāge.
agreed, 358; OF. agréer.
aldeste, *v. olde*.
alle, *adj.*, all, 49; *adv.*, 26; OE. eall.
als, *as*, 3; *as*, 5; OE. alswā.
also, 167; OE. alswā.
am, *v. bene*.
amatistes, amethysts, 127; OF. amatiste.
Amen, 665; L. amēn.
amende, *pr. 3 s. subj. reform*, 665; *imp. pl. amendes*, 641; OF. amender.
ames, *pr. 3 s. resolves*, 384; OPic. amer.
amorelle, emir, 515; OF. amiral; Arab. amīr-al-mā, commander of the sea.
an, *indef. art.* 84: *ane*, 5, 25; *a*, 4; OE. ān.
and, 2; *if*, 106, 189; OE. and.
angelles, angels, 215; OF. angele.
angrye, 163; ON. angr + -y.
anone, straightway, 74; OE. on ān.
anoper, another thing, otherwise, 484; OE. ān + ōðer.
any, 37; OE. ānig.
appon, upon, 10; **vppon**, 487; OE. uppan.
araye, *n.* attire, 107; AF. arai.
arayed, prepared, 346; AF. arayer.
ardaunt, ardent, inflammable, 590; OF. ardant.
are, before, 283; OE. ær.
are, *v. bene*.
aresté, first, 464; OE. ærest.
armes, arms, 113; OE. earm.
armes, deeds of arms, 171; OF. armes.
arsneke, arsenic, 590; OF. arsenik.
arte, *v. bene*.
as, *v. als*.
asegede, *v. assegedede*.
askes, requires, 240; *pt. 3 s. askede*, 160; OE. āscian.
assaye, trial of grease of a deer, 70; OF. assai.
assayllede, 397; OF. asailir.
assegedede, *pt. 3 s. besieged*, 574; *pl. assegede*, 303; *pp. asegede*, 356; OF. asegiar.
assembled, 340; OF. assembler.
assentis, yields, complies, 63; OF. assenter.
assommet, *pp.* elevated, (?) full-grown, 31; OF. assommer.
at, 5; OE. æt.
athell, noble, 345; OE. æðele.
athes, conjures, 499; OE. *æðan; *cp.* āp.
attyrede, 169; OF. atirier.

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- aughte, obtained, possessed, 392, 406; OE. āgan, āhte.
 aughtilde, intended, 483; *cp.* ON. ætla, *from* *ahtila; *cp.* OE. eahtian.
 auntirs, *pr.* 3 s. ventures, 375; *pt.* 3 s. aunterde, 543; OF. aventurer.
 auntlers, antlers, 28; OF. antoillier; late L. *ant(e)oculārem.
 aventure, adventure, 451; *auntoure*, 317; OF. aventure.
 a-vowe, *pr.* 1 s. vow, 178; *pp.* avowede, 204; *pt.* 3 *pl.* made vows, 365; OF. avouer.
 a-waye, 504; OE. aweg.
 awnn, own, 392; OE. āgen.
 axe, 374; OE. æx.
 axles, *pl.* shoulders, 113; OE. eaxl.
 ay, ever, 564; ON. ei.
 ayers, heirs, 577; OF. eir, heir.
 aythere, each of the two, 28, 456; ayther, 512; OE. æghwæðer.
 babirlippede, large lipped, 158; *cp.* F. babine, lip of a horse; OE. lippe.
 bade, *pt.* 3 s. asked, 390; commanded, 559; OE. biddan.
 bagge, money-bag, 139; ON. baggi.
 bakke, 200; bake, 272; one b., aback, 369; OE. bæc.
 bale, mischief, 453; OE. bealu.
 balghe, rounded, swelling, thick, 112; OE. belg, bælg, a bag.
 balkede, stopped short, 56; OE. balca, *n.*
 ballede, bald, 158; *cp.* Welsh bal, having a white streak on the forehead.
 banke, 7; ON. *banki, bakki.
 bare, *pt.* 3 s. bore, 369; bere, 439, 504; OE. beran.
 be, *v.* bene, by.
 be-dagged, covered with mud, 245; ON. dögga; Sw. dagga, to bedew.
 bedis, beads, 153; OE. (ge)bed.
 be-gynn, 72; OE. beginnan.
 belde, built, 662; OE. *byldan, *pp.* gebyld.
 bele, beautiful, 390; OF. bel.
 bellys, bells, 214; OE. belle.
 be-lyue, quickly, 416; by-lyue, 505; ME. bi life.
 beme, the main trunk of a stag's horn which bears the antlers, 26; OE. bēam.
 bende, stretched, 43; OE. bendan.
 bene, *inf.* be, 604; *pr.* 1 s. am, 650; 2 s. arte, 185; 3 s. es, 177; *pl.* are, 614; bene, 263; ben, 245; be (*with future significance*), 336; 2 s. subj. 258; *pt.* s. was, 16; *pl.* were, 13; 3 s. subj. 129, 199, 433, 566; *pp.* bene, 49; OE. bēon.
 benefetis, benefits, profits, 143; AF. benfet.
 benes, requests, 143; OE. bēn.
 beralles, beryls, 123; OF. beril.
 berde, beard, 156; *pl.* berdes, 482; OE. beard.
 bere, *v.* bare.
 berselett, hound, 39, 69; OF. ber-seret; med. L. bersāre, to hunt.
 beryn, warrior, man, 110; beryne, 153; *pl.* beryns, 509; OE. beorn.
 besantes, bezants, coins, 123; OF. besan, *from* L. Byzantium.
 beste, *v.* gud.
 be-syde, beside, 24; OE. be sīdan.
 bette, *inf.* beat, 560; *pr.* 3 *pl.* betyn, 224; *pt.* 3 s. bett, 569; OE. bēatan.
 bettir, *v.* gud.
 be-tyde, *inf.* happen, 596; *pp.* be-tydde, 596; OE. be + tīdan.
 betyn, *v.* bette.

GLOSSARY

- bewes**, bends his way, 395;
bowes, 370; *pt.* 3 *pl.* bewede,
 bowed, bent, 490; OE. būgan.
bewes, boughs, 662; OE. bōh.
Bible, 424; OF. bible.
bill, 228; OE. bile.
birche, 39; OE. bierce.
birde, lady, 390, 453; (?) OE.
 byrde, noble, rich.
bitt, cutting edge, 228; OE. bite.
bitterly, fiercely, 228; OE. biter-
 lice.
blake, black, 153; OE. blæc.
blanchede, *v.* blawnchede.
blaste, blowing, 593; OE. blæst.
[b]launchere, blancher, 593; OF.
 blanchier.
blawnchede, *pt.* 3 *s.* blanchéd,
 285; *pp.* blanchede, 156; OF.
 blanchir.
blethely, blithely, merrily, 214;
 OE. blīþe + -ly.
blode, blood, 55; OE. blōd.
bloody, bloodily, with blood, 62;
 OE. blōdig.
blonke, (white) horse, 110; OE.
 blanca, white; *cp.* ON. blakkr,
 steed.
blossoms, *pl.* 11; OE. blōstm.
blown, *pp.* 656; OE. blāwan.
blynde, 153; OE. blind.
blyot, tunic, 482; OF. bliant;
 med.L. blialdus, bliaudus.
blyasse, 664; OE. bliþa.
bodworde, message, 558; OE.
 bod + word.
body, 22; *pl.* bodyes, 595; OE.
 bodig.
bogle, bugle, 656; OF. bugle.
holde, 110; OM. bald.
boldly, 558; **boldely**, 595; OM.
 bald + -ly.
bole, tree-trunk, 39; ON. bolr.
bondemen, serfs, 143; OE. bonda
 + mann.
bone, 80; OE. bān.
booke, 407; OE. bōc.
borely, large, strong, 26; stately,
 tall, 32; (?) OE. *būrlīc, fit for
 a bower, handsome.
bosome, 139; OE. bōsm.
bot, but, 34; unless, 289; except,
 165, 498; only, 187; OE. būtan.
bote, boat, 509; OE. bāt.
bothe, 22; **bothen**, 13, 276; ON.
 báðir.
boundes, *pl.* limits, 334; OF.
 bone, bune; AF. bounde.
houre, bower, 608; OE. hūr.
howe, 22; OE. boga.
howells, 69; OF. bouel.
bowes, *v.* bewes.
bownn, ready, 153; **bownn**,
 110; ON. būnn.
bownees, *pr.* 3 *s.* prepares, 265;
pt. 1 *s.* bownede, 43; *from* ON.
 būinn, *adj.*
brakans, brackens, 62; *cp.* Sw.
 bräken.
brande, sword, 371; OE. brand.
brasse, 595; OE. bras.
braste, *pt.* 3 *s.* burst, 55; 3 *pl.*
 brosten, 231; ON. bresta; OE.
 berstan.
braunches, *pl.* branches, 11; OF.
 branche.
brawndeschet, brandished, 504;
 OF. brandies, *lengthened stem of*
 brandir.
brayde, *pt.* 3 *s.* wrenched, 69, 371;
pp. brayden, plaited, 131; OE.
 bregdan.
brayed, cried out, 56; OF. braire.
brayne, 446; OE. brægn.
breke, *inf.* break, 41; *pr.* 3 *pl.*
 brekyn, 231; OE. brecan.
brenn, *inf.* burn, 560; *pp.* brente,
 burnished, 131; ON. brenna.
breris, briars, 62; OAngl. brēr.
breste, 112; OE. brēost.
breues, narrates, 424; ON. brēfa;
 med.L. breviāre.
bride, 482; OE. brȳd.
bridell, 131; brydell, 191; OE.
 brīdell.
brighte, 214; OE. beorht.

THE PARLEMENT OF THE THREE AGES

- brode, broad, 32; *adv.* 51; *n.* breadth, 71; OE. brād.
- broghte, *v.* brynges.
- brosten, *v.* brast.
- browes, 156; OE. brū.
- bruschede, rushed with force, 56; OF. brosser.
- Bruyte, the Brut, a chronicle of British history, 407; *v. Note.*
- brydell, *v.* bridell.
- bryme, water, stream; **b.** syde, the side of a brook, 7; OE. brymme.
- brynges, *pr.* 3 *pl.* bring, 224; *pt.* 3 *s.* broghte, 401; OE. bringan.
- buffetyn, *pr.* 3 *pl.* buffet, 224; OF. buffet, *n.*
- bullokes, 191; OE. bulluc.
- burghe, castle, city, 569; OE. burh.
- burgons, *pl.* buds, 11; OF. burjon.
- buskede, arrayed, 22; ON. būask.
- by, 19, 571; **be**, 7, 164, 183, 195; OE. bi, be.
- by-cause, 396; OE. bi + OF. cause.
- by-come, *inf.* become, 559; *pp.* by-comen, come, 507; OE. becoman.
- byde, remain, 654; OE. biðan.
- by-dene, straightway, 364; (?) OE. bi ðēn(e), *pp.* of ðōn (Skeat).
- bye, *inf.* buy, 147; *imp.* *s.* 190; OE. bycgan.
- by-fore, in front, 75; OE. beforan.
- by-hete, *pr.* 1 *s.* promise, 178, OE. behātan, behēt.
- by-hynde, 54; OE. bihindan.
- by-luffede, *pp.* beloved, 274; OE. bi + lufian.
- by-lyue, *v.* be-lyue.
- by-ronnen, *pp.* overrun, covered, 62; OE. berinnan.
- by-segede, besieged, 397; OE. be + *aphetic form of* OF. asegier.
- by-soughte, 357; OE. be + sēcan.
- by-weuede, bedecked, 122; OE. bewæfan.
- cache, *inf.* catch, 33; *pt.* 3 *pl.* caughten, took, 362; *pp.* caughte, 443; ONF. cachier.
- callen, *pr.* 3 *pl.* call, 425; *pt.* 3 *pl.* callede, 151; ON. kalla.
- calsydoynnes, chalconies, 124; L. c(h)alcedonius.
- caprons, hoods, 212, 237; OF. capron.
- cares, *pr.* 2 *s.* 189; *pt.* 3 *s.* carede, 165; OE. carian.
- carolles, 254; QF. carole.
- carpe, *inf.* speak, 462; ON. karpa.
- carpynge, *n.* talk, 168; ON. karpa + -ing.
- castelle, 411; ONF. castel.
- casten, *inf.* cast, 212; *pt.* 1 *s.* kest *vp.* turned over, 68; ON. kasta.
- certainne, in c., for certain, 635; OF. certain.
- chambirs, 249; OF. chambre.
- chaplet, garland, 118; OF. chapellet.
- chareboole, carbuncle, 121; OF. charboucle.
- chawylls, jowls, 72; OE. ceaf.
- chefe, *pr.* 3 *pl.* succeed, 243; *pt.* 3 *s.* cheuede, befell, 98; OF. chever.
- chefe, *adj.* 255; especial, choice, 121; *adv.* (?) first, (?) = at **be** c., at the top, 72; OF. chef.
- chefe-lere, chevelure, hair, 118; OF. chevelure, *written in MS. as if derived from* OF. chef + OE. hlēor.
- chefely, particularly, especially, 89, 235; OF. chef + -ly.
- cheres, *pr.* 3 *s.* cheers, 235; OF. chérir.
- chese, *inf.* betake oneself to, 255; *pr.* 3 *s.* cheses, 538; *pr.* 3 *pl.* chosen, 243; *pt.* *s.* chese,

GLOSSARY

- chose, 72; **ches**, 531; *pp.* **chos-**
sen, 118, 121; OE. *cēosan*.
chesse, 255; *aphetic form of* OF.
eschès.
cheuede, *v.* **chefe**.
choppede, 89; (?) *cp.* Dan. *kappe*;
 Sw. *kappa*.
chosen, *v.* **chese**.
chynede, cut along the backbone,
 89; *cp.* OF. *eschine*, *n.*
cite, city, 303; OF. *cité*.
clere, beautiful, 621; OF. *cler*.
clerkes, 148; OE., OF. *clerc*.
closede, enclosed, 411; OF. *clos*,
subj. stem of clere.
clothes, 188; OE. *clāp*.
clustrede, *pp.* 124; OE. *cluster*,
n.
clyp, *inf.* embrace, 248; OE.
clyppan.
colere, collar, 124; AF. *coler*.
coloppe, collop, dish of meat,
 33; *cp.* Sw. *kollops*.
come, *n.* coming, 336; OE. *cyme*.
come, *inf.* 203; *pr.* 3 s. **comes**,
 293, 631; *pt.* 1 s. **come**,
 246; *pp.* **comen**, 355; OE.
cuman.
comforthe, *inf.* comfort, 248; *pt.*
 3 s. **comforthed**, 396; OF. *con-*
forter.
comly, 627; OE. *cymlic*.
comonly, publicly, 467; OF.
comun + -ly; (?) *for* *comly*; B.
comly).
compaste, contrived, 409; OF.
compasser.
compaynyes, social gatherings,
 254; OF. *compagnie*.
condithe, conduit, 409; OF. *con-*
duit.
conquered, *pt.* 3 s. 337; OF. *con-*
querre.
conquerours, 251; OF. *con-*
quereor.
conqueste, 402; OF. *conqueste*.
consell, advice, 195; OF. *con-*
seil.
contrees, countries, 492; OF.
contree.
corbyns, raven's; **c. bone**, the
 bone between the anus and the
 bladder of an animal, given to
 the crows as valueless, 80; OF.
corbin.
cornells, battlements, 411; OF.
carnel.
corowwne, *v.* **crowne**.
couche, 165; OF. *couche*.
couerede, covered, 42; OF. *covrir*.
countdithes, secular songs, 'con-
 duts' (*v.* *N.E.D.*), 254; OF.
condut.
countours, calculators, treasurers,
 148; AF. *countour*.
courbede, *v.* **cowrbed**.
courte, 246; *pl.* **courtes**, 148;
 OF. *cort*.
couthie, *v.* **kane**.
couthely, properly, cunningly,
 462; OE. *cūðlice*.
cowchide, caused to couch down,
 39; OF. *coucher*.
cowers, (?) leather straps, 237;
v. Note.
cownten, count, tell, 307; OF.
cunter.
cowpe, *inf.* cope, fight, 203; OF.
couper.
cowpe, cup, 401; OE. *cuppe*;
 OF. *coupe*.
cowples, ties up, 237; OF. *cupler*.
cowrbed, *pt.* 3 s. bent down, 287;
pp. **courbede**, 154; OF. *courber*.
cowschote, cushat, wood-pigeon,
 13; OE. *cūscute*.
crabtre, crab-apple tree, 42; (?)
cp. Sw. *dial. skrabba*; OE. *trēo*.
craftely, skilfully, 409; OE.
cræftiglice.
crakede, broke, 373; OE. *cracian*.
crede, creed, 161; OE. *crēda*; L.
crēdo.
crepite, *v.* **krepyn**.
cried, 161; OF. *crier*.
Criste, 161; OE. *Crist*.

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- Cristen**, Christian, 462; **Cristyne**, 559; OE. *Cristen*; OF. *Cristine*.
- croked**, *pt.* 3 *s.* made crooked, 287; *pp.* 154; ON. *krökr*, *n.*
- cronycle**, 307; AF. *cronicle*.
- crouchede**, *pp.* crouched, 64; OF. *crochir*.
- crowne**, 466; **corownne**, 553; *pl.* *crounes*, 309; AF. *coroune*.
- cruche**, crutch, 165; OE. *crycc*.
- cukkowe**, cuckoo, 13; OF. *cucu*.
- curssede**, accursed, 401; OE. *cursian*.
- cuttede**, *pt.* 1 *s.* cut out, 80; **kutt**, cut, 63; (?) *cp.* Sw. dial. *kuta*.
- dalte**, *v.* *delys*.
- dame**, lady, 357; OF. *dame*.
- damesels**, maidens, 249; OF. *dameisele*.
- dare**, 583; OE. *dearr*.
- daunsen**, dance, 249; OF. *danser*.
- day**, 6; at his **dayes tyme**, at his appointed time, 579; in **thaire dayes tyme**, in their days, 582; OE. *dæg*.
- dayeses**, daisies, 10; OE. *dægese*.
- declares**, 638; OF. *declarer*.
- dede**, dead, 65, 258, 400; OE. *dēad*.
- dede**, death, 399, 583, 631; OE. *dēap*; *cp.* Sw., Dan. *död*.
- deden**, *v.* *do*.
- dedis**, deeds of arms, 181; OE. *dād*.
- delys**, *pr.* 3 *s.* deals, 264; *imp. s.* *dele*, 664; *pt.* 3 *s.* *dalte*, 403; OE. *dælan*.
- demden**, *pt.* 3 *pl.* decided, 367; **demed[e]n**, declared, 331; *pp.* **demed**, adjudged, 472; OE. *dēman*.
- departede**, separated, 77; OF. *departir*.
- dere**, *inf.* harm, 36; OE. *derian*.
- dere**, noble, 125, 249; OE. *dēore*.
- derelynge**, darling, 617; OE. *dēorling*.
- derke**, darkness, 16; OE. *deorc*, *adj.*
- dethe**, the d., the death, 403; OE. *dēap*.
- deuyll**, devil, 260, 447; OE. *dēofol*.
- dewe**, 10; OE. *dēaw*.
- dide**, *v.* *do*.
- digges**, ducklings, 245; (?) *cp.* Sw. *dyk-fågel*; Glo. dial. *dug*.
- dighte**, *pp.* dight, arranged, 125; ordained, 597; OE. *dihtan*.
- disfigured**, *pt.* 3 *s.* disfigured, 284; *pp.* *disfýgured*, 155; OF. *desfigurer*.
- dispysede**, scorned, 550; OF. *despis*, *subj. stem* of *despire*.
- do**, *inf.* 294; **doo**, 367; *pt.* 3 *s.* **dide**, put, 557, 570; 3 *pl.* **deden**, **did**, 367; *pp.* **done**, 181; finished, 16; OE. *dōn*.
- doers**, 461.
- doghetynes**, doughtiness, 583; OE. *dohtig + -ness*.
- doghty**, doughty, 521; **doghety**, 181; **doughety**, 461; *used as n.* **doughty**, 344; *sup.* **doghty-este**, 582; OE. *dyhtig*, *dohtig*.
- dole**, bewailing, sorrow, 258, 400; OF. *doel*.
- doluen**, buried, 258; OE. *delfan*.
- done**, *v.* *do*.
- donkede**, was moist, 10; *cp.* ON. *dökk*, a pool.
- doo**, *v.* *do*.
- dore**, door, 292; OE. *dor*.
- dore-nayle**, 65; OE. *nægl*.
- doughty**, *v.* *doghty*.
- doun**, down, 38; OE. (of) *dūne*, late OE. *dūne*.
- doussypers**, *v.* *dussypere*.
- douth**, noble company, 348; OE. *dugup*.
- dowkyng**, plunging under water, 245; *cp.* MLG. *dūken*.

GLOSSARY

- dowte**, uncertainty, 102; OF. doute.
- dragone**, 488; OF. dragon.
- drede**, *pr.* 1 s. dread, 292; *pp.* 488; OE. (on)drædan.
- dreghe**, long, 102; OE. *drēog; ON. drjúgr.
- dreghe**, dreē, undergo, go through with, 3; OE. drēogan.
- dremed**, *impers.* dreamed, 102; OE. drēam, *n.*
- dreped**, slew, 488; **drepide**, 456; **drepitt**, 379; OE. drepan.
- Drighdyn**, *v.* Dryghtyn.
- droghe**, *pt.* 3 s. betook, 410; 3 *pl.* droghen, 381; OE. dragan.
- droue**, *v.* dryves.
- Dryghtyn**, the Lord, 6; **Drigh-tyne**, 664; *gen. s.* D[r]igh-ty[n]es, 442; OE. Dryhten.
- drynke**, beverage, 400; OE. drinc.
- dryves**, *pr.* 3 s. hastens, 19; *pt.* 3 s. droue, drove, 6; OE. drifan.
- duellys**, *pr.* 2 s. dwellest, 175; *pt.* 3 s. duellyde, 410; 3 *pl.* duellyd, (they) remained, 557; OE. dwellan.
- duke**, 348; OF. duc.
- dussypere**, one of the twelve peers, 348; *pl.* 403; **doussypers**, 521; OF. douze pers, *pl.*
- dyamandes**, diamonds, 125; OF. diamant.
- dyede**, died, 579; ON. deyja.
- dynges**, knocks, 654; *cp.* Icel. dengja.
- dynt**, blow, 447; OE. dynt.
- echecheke**, check, false stop, when a hawk forsakes her proper game, and pursues some baser game, 243; *pl.* ecchekkes, 235; OF. eschec.
- efte**, again, 436; OE. eft.
- egheliche**, terribly, 28, 113 (MS. i-liche); OE. *egelice; *cp.* OE. egeslic.
- eghne**, eyes, 50; OE. ēage.
- elde**, age, 133; old age, 154, 283; OE. eldo; *cp.* medill-elde.
- eldeste**, *v.* olde.
- ells**, else, 273; otherwise, 260; **ellis**, 310; OE. elles.
- embroddirde**, embroidered, 123; *cp.* OF. embroder.
- emeraudes**, emeralds, 127; OF. emeraude.
- emperour**, 345; OF. empereor.
- encrampeschet**, *pt.* 3 s. cramped, 287; *pp.* encrampeschett, 154; en-+ OF. crampiss-, *lengthened stem of* crampir.
- ende**, 404; *pl.* endes, regions, parts, 220; OE. ende.
- enewede**, driven into the water, 245; OF. enewer.
- ensample**, example, 269; OF. essample.
- envious**, 163; AF. envious.
- enymy**, 317; OF. enemi.
- erande**, 561; OE. ærende.
- erthe**, earth, 18; OE. eorðe.
- es**, *v.* bene.
- ese**, ease, 136; OF. aise.
- euen**, exactly, 367; OE. efne.
- euer**, ever, 135; OE. æfre.
- euerous**, eager, desirous, 306, 543, 622; **euerrous**, 271, 329; (?) OE. gifre, *v.* Note, 271.
- ewe**, water; **e.** ardaunt, ardent spirit, 590; OF. ewe.
- face**, 155; OF. face.
- fadide**, *pt.* 3 s. faded, 284; *pp.* fadit, 155; OF. fader.
- faire**, 619; *comp.* fayrere, 109; **faire**, *adv.* 10, 542; **fayre**, 77, 88; OE. fæger.
- fallie**, *inf.* fall, 12; *pp.* fallen, 65; befallen, 317; alighted, 378; OE. feallan.
- fantome**, phantasy, 184; OF. fantosme.
- fare**, bearing, 59; OE. fæf.
- fare**, *inf.* go, 354; *pr.* 2 s. faris,

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- dealest, 184; 3 s. fares, goes, 385; *pt.* 3 s. fared, 572; 3 *pl.* fared, 330; *pp.* faren, departed, dead, 619; OE. faran.
- faſte, 20, 97: ſtraightway, 78; OE. fæſte.
- fatills, 'fettles', makes ready, 20; *pt.* 3 s. fittilled, 542; (?) *cp.* OE. fetel, a chain, band.
- faughte, *v.* fighte.
- fawkoneres, falconers, 210; fawkoners, 216; OF. fau(l)-connier.
- fawkons, falcons, 222; OF. faucon.
- ſayle, *inf.* 327; *pt.* 3 s. ſaylede, 35; OE. faillir.
- ſayne, glad, 388; *comp.* ſaynere, 15; OE. fægen.
- ſayre, *v.* faire.
- ſaythe, 183, 548; OE. feid.
- feble, weak, 195; OE. feble.
- feche, *inf.* fetch, 549; OE. feccan.
- fede, *inf.* feed, 69; OE. fēdan.
- fee, of the f., by heritable right ſubject to feudal obligations, 94; AF. fee; *v.* Note.
- feſtur, feature, (?) tine, 27; OF. feture.
- felde, field of battle, 496; oppoſing armies, 498; OE. feld.
- fele, many, 1, 310, 480; OE. fela.
- felle, ſkin, 77; OE. fel.
- fellys, mountains, 59; ON. fjall.
- felowe, fellow, 183; late OE. fēolaga; ON. fēlagi.
- ferde, company, 330, 480; OE. ferd.
- ferde, fear, 97; OE. (ge)færed, *pp.* of færan.
- ferde, *pt.* 3 s. went, 360; 3 *pl.* ferden, 578; OE. færan.
- ſere, mate, 388; comrade, 564; *pl.* ferrys, 510; feris, companions, 58; OE. (ge)fēra.
- ferkes, *pr.* 3 s. haſtens, 20; *pt.* 1 s. ferkede, 659; OE. fercian.
- ferly, wondrous, 310, 566; OE. færlīc.
- ferne, fern, 92; OE. fearn.
- ferrere, farther, 47; OE. fierr + -er.
- ferſe, fierce, 109; OF. fers.
- ferſely, eagerly, 216; OF. fers + -ly.
- ferys, *v.* fere.
- feſte, *pt.* 1 s. faſtened, 91; OE. fæſtan.
- feſtes, *pl.* feaſts, 385; OF. feſte.
- fet, *pt.* 3 s. fetched, 378; OE. fetian.
- fete, *v.* fote.
- fewe, 187; OE. fēawe.
- fewlis, *v.* foule.
- fey, doomed to die, mortally wounded, 485, 496; OE. fæge.
- fighte, *inf.* 301; *pt.* 3 s. faughte, 485; 3 *pl.* foughten, 322; *pp.* foghten, 326; OE. feohtan.
- filmarte, polecat, 18; OE. *fūl mearp.
- fiſte, 109; OE. fyrſt.
- fiſte, fiſt, 78; OE. fýſt.
- fittilled, *v.* fatills.
- fitz, *v.* fytz.
- flayede, put to flight, 428; ON. fleygja.
- ſlede, *pt.* 3 *pl.* 18; ſledden, 382; *pp.* ſlowen, 498; OE. flēon.
- ſleſe, fleece, 338; OE. flēos.
- ſlewe, *pt.* 1 s. ſlayed, 78; OE. flēan.
- ſloodes, waters, 216; OE. flōd.
- ſloreschede, bordered with fat, 71; OF. floriss-, *lengthened ſtem* of florir.
- ſloures, flowers, 8; OF. flour.
- ſlowen, *v.* ſlede.
- ſlye, *inf.* fly, 209; OE. flēogan.
- ſlyte, *pr.* 1 *pl.* ſubj. contend, 264; OE. flitan.
- foghten, *v.* fighte.
- fole, *n.* fool, 264; OF. fol.
- folke, people, 310; folkes, 428; OE. folc.
- ſologhed, baptized, 545; OE. fullwian.

GLOSSARY

- folowede**, followed, 435; OE. folgian.
foly, folly, 184; OF. folie.
fongen, *inf.* take, 572; *pt. s.* fonge, 88, 388, 544; OE. fōn, feng, fangen.
fonnes, art foolish, speakest foolishly, 183; *cp.* EFrīs. fone, a simpleton.
fonte, 545; **founte**, 549; OE. font.
for, 48; with, 245; *cp.* radde, slepeles; OE. for.
for-frayed, *pp.* frayed, rubbed, 27, OE. for + OF. freier.
for-frayede, terrified, 59; OE. for- + AF. (a)frayer.
forthe, 549; OE. forþ.
for-thi, therefore, 641; OE. forþy.
forthire, further, 269; OE. furðor.
fostere, forester, 94; OF. forestier; *v. Note*.
fote, foot, 27; *hym to f.*, to his feet, 490; *pl.* fete, 77; OE. fōt.
fothire, wagon-load, 189; OE. fōðer.
foughten, *v.* fighte.
foule, bird, 15; *pl.* fewlis, 210; OE. fugol.
founden, *v.* foundes, fynde.
foundes, *pr.* 3 s. sets out, hastens, 372; *pr.* 3 *pl.* founden, 222, 226; *pt.* 1 s. foundede, 97; founded, 659; OE. fundian.
founte, *v.* font.
fourche, fork of the body, 91; *pl.* fourches, 88; OF. fourche.
fourme, the seat or bed of a hare, 20; OF. fourme.
foxe, 18; OE. fox.
freely, without restraint, 222; OE. frēolice.
freke, man, 109; OE. freca.
frendis, 354; OE. frēond.
freschely, fiercely, 372; OF. freis, *fem.* fresche + -ly.
fro, from, 76; ON. frā.
frome, from, 6; OE. fram, from.
frythe, wood, 15; OE. friðu.
full, very, 10, 14; OE. full.
fynde, *inf.* 94; *pp.* founden, 210; OE. findan.
fyne, finished, excellent, 587; OE. fin.
fyngere, finger, 81; *pl.* finger's breadths (of fat), 71; OE. finger.
fynour, refiner, 587; OF. fin, *adj.*
fyre, 593; OE. fyr.
fytz, son of, 476; *pl.* fitz, 529; OF. filz, fiz.
fyve, 31; OE. fif, fife.
gaffe, *pt.* 3 s. gave, 198; 3 *pl.* gouden, betook themselves, 17; OE. giefan.
gamnes, games, 255; OE. gamen.
gane, *pt.* 3 *pl.* began, 12; OE. (on)ginnan.
garte, *pt.* 3 s. caused, 549; g[er]te, 588; ON. gera.
gates, *pl.* ways, 339, 494; ON. gata.
gatt, *v.* gete.
gaye, 273; OF. gai.
gayly, 169; OF. gai + -ly.
gaynly, readily, 281; ON. gegn + -ly.
gentill, noble, 422; **jentille**, 338; OF. gentil.
gentilly, nobly, 439; OF. gentil + -ly.
gere, apparel, 273; ON. gervi.
gerede, clothed, 122; OE. gierwan.
g[er]te, *v.* garte.
gesserante, coat of mail, 180; OF. jesseran.
gete, *inf.* get, 4, 191; *pt.* 1 s. gatte, 281; 2 s. gatt, 206; 3 s. 491; *gete*, 416; ON. geta.
girde, *pp.* girt, 138; OE. gyrdan.
girdes, *pr.* 3 s. strikes, 343; *pt.* 3 s. girde, rushed, 318; *etym.* unknown.
glayfe, sword, 202; OF. glaive.

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- gloes, *pr.* 3 *pl.* glow, 188; OE. glōwan.
gloue, hawking glove to protect the hand from the claws of the hawk, 232; OE. glōf.
gnattes, 50; OE. gnætt.
gnewen, *pt.* 3 *pl.* gnawed, bit, 50; OE. gnagan.
Gode, God, 198; god, 196; OE. god.
golde, 122; OE. gold.
golyone, tunic, 138; *cp.* prov. F. goule, a kind of night-gown; *cp.* slubberdegullion = 'a creature who slobbers his gullion.'
gome, man, 169, 475; OE. guma.
goo, *inf.* go, 358; OE. gān.
gospelle, 644; OE. godspell.
goste, spirit, 198; OE. gāst.
gouen, *v.* gaffe.
gracious, noble, successful, 528; OF. gracious.
grathede, *v.* graythe.
grauē, grave, 623; OE. græf.
grauen, buried, 629; OE. grafan.
graye, 138; OE. græg.
graythe, *inf.* prepare, 588; *pt.* 1 *s.* graythede, put, 85; 3 *s.* grathede, betook himself, 339; graythed, 416; prepared, 358; graythe[d], 608; ON. greiða.
graythely, readily, directly, suitably, 202, 494, 644; ON. greiðliga.
gree, grade, rank, first place, 473; OF. gret, gré.
Gregeis, Greeks, 318; OF. gregois.
grene, green, 8; OE. grēne.
grete, great, 32; OE. grēat.
gretely, greatly, 50; gretly, 140; OE. grēat + -ly.
greued, *pt.* 3 *s.* was annoyed, 182; 194; 3 *pl.* greuede, annoyed, 50; OF. grever.
greues, groves, 27; OE. græfa.
gripis, seizes, 374; OE. gripan.
grippes, *pr.* 3 *s.* seizes, 503; *pt.* 1 *s.* grippede, 85; ONorthumb. grippa.
gronande, groaning, 343; OE. grānian.
grounde, 343; OE. grund.
growen, *pp.* overgrown, covered, 8; OE. grōwan.
grownden, *pp.* sharpened, 202; OE. grindan.
grym, cruel, 202, 444; OE. grim.
gryse, grass, 8; OE. græs.
gud, *adj.* good, 528; gude, 340; *comp.* bettir, 139; *sup.* beste, 297; *used as n.* gude, wealth, 140; *pl.* gudes, 257; OE. gōd.
guttēs, guts, 85; guttys, 82; OE. guttas.
3ape, active, 134, 270; OE. gēap.
3ates, gates, 535; 3atis, 398; OE. geat.
3e, *nom.* ye, 106; *dat. acc.* 3owe, 159, 168; OE. gē, ēow.
3ere, *pl.* years, 133, 567; OE. gēar, *pl.*
3erne, diligently, 34, ardently, 104, 183; OE. georne.
3ernynge, *pr. p.* desirous, 171; *pp.* 3ernede, longed for, 393; OE. geornan.
3ernynge, *n.* desire, 535; OE. geornung.
3ett, *pp.* granted, 535; 3ette, given up, 575; 3ete, 398; OE. gēatan.
3it, yet, 450; OE. git.
3olden, *pp.* yielded, 398; OE. gieldan.
3onge, young, 134; OE. geong.
3ore, long ago, 263; OE. gēara.
3our, your, 268; OE. ēower.
3oure-seluen, yourselves, 271; 3oure-self, 635; OE. ēower + *dat.* selfum.
3outhē, youth, 134; OE. geogup.
3owe, *v.* 3e.

GLOSSARY

- habyde**, *inf.* remain, 583; *pr.* 3 s.
abydes, 360; *pt.* 1 s. **habade**,
 7; OE. **abīdan**.
had, **hafe**, *v.* **haue**.
halde, *v.* **holde**.
halfues, sides, 574; OE. **healf**.
hallede, **haled**, **hauled**, 53; OF.
haler; *v.* **Note**.
halse, neck, 373; **haulse**, 90;
 OE. **heals**.
hande, 111; **honde**, 202; OE.
hand, **hond**.
hande-while, moment, 267; OE.
hand-hwil.
happen, *inf.* 5; *pt.* 3 s. **hap-**
penyd, 54; ON. **happ** + **-en**.
hapyng, conjecture, 164; ON.
happ + **-ing**; *v.* **Textual Notes**.
harde, vigorously, 19; OE. **hearde**.
hare, 19; OE. **hara**.
hare, *v.* **here**.
harmede, harmed, 475; OE.
hearmian.
hase, *v.* **haue**.
haspede, clasped, encased, 201;
 OE. **hæpsian**.
haste, 213; OF. **haste**.
hathelle, knight, man, 111, 170;
 (?) OE. **æðele**.
hatte, hat, 117; OE. **hæt**.
hatten, *v.* **hete**.
hauke, hawk, 111; *pl.* **hawkes**,
 218; OE. **heafoc**.
haulle, hall, 253; OE. **heall**.
haulse, *v.* **halse**.
haue, *inf.* have, 96; *pr.* 1 s.
hafe, 166, 174; 2 s. **hase**, 186;
 3 *pl.* **hafe**, 296; *pr.* 2 s. *subj.*
 189; 3 s. 447; **haue**, 438;
imp. *pl.* **haues**, 653; *pt.* 1 s.
subj. **had**, 48; **hade**, 49; OE.
habban.
hawes, hedges, 19; OE. **haga**.
hawkes, *v.* **hauke**.
hawtayne, proud, 209; OF.
haltain, **hautain**.
hawteste, proudest, 213; OF.
balt, **haut**.
he, 31; *dat. acc.* **hym**, 33, 37;
 OE. **hē**, him.
hede, antlers, 25; OE. **hēafod**.
hedis, *pr.* 3 s. looks, 508; OE.
hēdan.
hefe, *inf.* heave, lift, 288; *pt.* 1 s.
heuede, dragged, 92; OE.
hebban.
heghe, high, 25, 170; OE. **hēah**.
heghely, solemnly, 178; OE.
hēah + **-ly**.
heghte, height, 215; **highte**,
 470; OE. **hieħōu**; OM. **hēħōo**.
helde, *v.* **holde**.
hele, bliss, 177; OE. **hælu**.
helle, 643; OE. **hel**.
helme, 201; OE. **helm**.
helpe, *n.* 643; OE. **help**.
helpen, *inf.* 227; OE. **helpan**.
hemmes, borders, 128; OE.
hemm.
hendely, courteously, 267; OE.
 (ge)hende + **-ly**.
hent, *inf.* take, seize, 96; *pr.* 3 s.
henntis, 236; *pt.* 1 s. **hent**, 60;
 3 s. 373; OE. **hentan**.
hepe, heap, 57; OE. **hēap**.
herbere, the gullet, the conduit
 leading to the stomach, 74;
 OF. **herbiere**.
here, *inf.* hear, 400; *pt.* 1 s. **herde**,
 656; OAngl. **hēran**.
here, hair, 117; **hare**, 157; OE.
hær; ON. **hār**.
here, *adv.* 256; OE. **hēr**.
here-wedys, war weeds, armour,
 201; OE. **here-wād**.
herken, listen, 267; OE. **heorcnian**.
heron, 223; OF. **hairon**.
hert, hart, 5, 53; *pl.* **hertys**, 17;
 OE. **heort**.
heryett, *pt.* 1 s. dragged, 66; *pp.*
heryet, carried off, 427; OE.
herian.
heste, *n.* promise, 178; OE. **hæs**.
hete, *pr.* 1 s. promise, 643; *pp.*
highte, 204; **hatten**, called,
 405; OE. **hātan**, **heht**, **hēt**, **hāten**.

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- hethe**, heather, 93; OE. *hæþ*.
hethyn, heathen, 541; OE. *hæðen*.
heuede, *v.* hefe.
heuen, sky, 6; heaven, 162; *gen. s.* 215; OE. *heofon*; late OE. *heofone*.
heuen-riche, the kingdom of heaven, 427; OE. *heofonrice*.
hewe, complexion, 155; OE. *hiew*.
hewede, *pp.* coloured, 157; OE. *hiwian*.
hewes, *pr.* 3 *s.* cuts, 376; OE. *heawan*.
hid, *pt.* 1 *s.* 95; **hidde**, 92; OE. *hȳdan*.
highte, *v.* heghte, hete.
hilde, *pt.* 1 *s.* covered, 93; ON. *hylja*.
hillys, hills, 17; OE. *hyll*.
hiltys, hilts, 503; OE. *hilt*.
hir, *pron. poss.* her, 20; OE. *hire*.
hir, *v.* scho.
his, *pron. poss.* 36; OE. *his*.
hitten, *pr.* 3 *pt.* fall upon, 223; *pt.* 1 *s.* *hitt*, *hit*, 54; ON. *hitta*.
hode, *n.* hood, 117; OE. *hōd*.
hodes, *pr.* 3 *s.* hoods, 236; OE. *hōd*, *n.*
hokes, hooks, 53; OE. *hōc*; *v.* *Note*.
holde, *inf.* hold, 148, 237; **halde**, 204; *pt.* 1 *s.* *helde*, 164; *pp.* **holden**, 413, 467; **halden**, 304; OM. *haldan*.
holde, stronghold, 413; OM. *haldan*, *vb.*
hole, 84; OE. *hol*.
hologhe, hollow, 95; OE. *holh*, *n.*
holte, wood, 57; OE. *holt*.
holynes, holiness, 427; OE. *hālignes*.
homelyde, *pt.* 1 *s.* hambled, cut, 90; OE. *hamelian*.
honde, *v.* hande.
hony, honey, 413; OE. *hunig*.
hoo, *interj.* ho, 223; OF. *ho*.
hope, 177; late OE. *hopa*.
hore, hoary, grey, 93; OE. *hār*.
hornes, 95; OE. *horn*.
horse, 111; OE. *hors*.
hounde, 60; OE. *hund*.
houen, hover, 215; *etym. unknown*.
how, 70; OE. *hū*.
howghe, *interj.* ho, 223.
howses, houses, 142; OE. *hūs*.
hundrethe, hundred, 164; ON. *hundrað*.
hunte, hunter, 96; OE. *hunta*.
hurkles, squats, 19; *cp.* MLG. *hurken*.
hurlede, struck with forcible collision, dashed together, 57; *cp.* Dan. *hurle*, to whirl.
hyghes, *pr.* 3 *s.* hurries, 508; 3 *pl.* 213; **hyen**, 59, 216; **hyenn**, 210; *pt.* 1 *s.* **hyede**, 60; OE. *higian*.
hym, *v.* he.
hym-seluen, himself, 389; **hym-selfe**, 526; OE. *him selfum*.
hynde, hind, 5; *pl.* **hyndes**, 17; OE. *hind*.
I, 3; *dat. acc.* **me**, 4, 24, 42; OE. *ic*, *mē*.
iche, each, 15, 393; OE. *æghwilc*.
iles, islands, 334; OF. *isle*, *ile*.
in, 1; **inn**, 130; **inne**, 197; OE. *in*.
in sondire, asunder, 231; OE. *on sundran*.
in-to, 4, 64; OE. *in tō*.
irkede, it became irksome, 277; (?) ON. *yrkja*.
it, 5, 80; OE. *hit*.
i-wis, assuredly, 276; OE. *gewis*, *adj.*
jentille, *v.* **gentill**.
joly, brave, noble, 459, 620; OF. *joli*.
joyntly, continuously, steadily, 180; OF. *joint + ly*.
jugge[n], *pr. pl. subj.* judge, 422; OF. *jugier*.

GLOSSARY

- justede**, *pp.* jousted, 180; OF. *juster*.
justers, jousters, 459; OF. *justeor*.
kane, *pr.* 3 *pl.* can, 425; *pt.* 3 *s.* couth, knew, 511; OE. *cunnan*.
kaple, horse, nag, 189; *cp.* Icel. *kapall*.
katur, four, 529; OF. *quatre*.
kayre, *inf.* go, return, 246; ON. *keyra*.
kaysers, emperors, 605; *cp.* OHG. *keisar*; L. *Caesar*.
kempes, warriors, 251; OE. *cempa*.
kende, instructed, directed, 553; OE. *cennan*.
kene, bold, active, 13; OE. *cēne*.
kenely, eagerly, 161, 362; OE. *cēnlíce*.
keppyn of, *inf.* snatch off, 212; *pt.* 3 *s.* *keptide*, met, greeted, 353; late OE. *cēpan*.
kepyng, keeping, 443; late OE. *cēpan* + *-ing*.
kest, *v.* *casten*.
keuduart, rogue, 68; *cp.* *kiluarde*.
keyes, 398; OE. *cæg*.
kiddeste, *v.* *kyd*.
killede, killed, 309; (?) *cp.* EFris. *küllen*, to strike.
kiluarde, rogue, 516; OF. *culvert*, *cuilvert*, *cuivert*; L. *collibertus*, *conlibertus*; *cp.* *keuduart*.
knawen, *v.* *knowe*.
knees, 229; OE. *cnēo*.
knelyn, kneel, 229; OE. *cnēowlian*.
knowe, *inf.* 168; *pp.* *knawen*, 458; OE. *cnāwan*.
knyghte, 203; OE. *cnicht*.
knyghtly, gallantly, 337; OE. *cnicht* + *-ly*.
krage, crag, overhanging rock, cave, 64; *cp.* W. *craig*.
krepyn, *pr.* 3 *pl.* creep, 229; *pt.* 1 *s.* *crepite*, 42; *pp.* *crepyde* 64; *crept*, 623; OE. *crēopan*.
kutt, *v.* *cuttede*.
kyd, famous, renowned, 441, 477; *kydde*, 458; *sup.* *kiddeste*, 299; OE. (ge)*cȳðed*; *pp.* of *cȳðan*; *cp.* *kythe*.
kyngdomes, kingdoms, 402; OE. *cýningdōm*.
kyng, 33; *pl.* *kynges*, 251; OE. *cýning*.
kysse, *inf.* kiss, 248; OE. *cyssan*.
kythe, *inf.* make known, 168; OE. *cȳðan*; *cp.* *kyd*.
kythe, country, 466; OE. *cȳþþ*.
lache, *inf.* take, seize, 211; *pr.* 3 *s.* *laches*, 239; *pt.* 3 *s.* *laughte*, 52; OE. *læcc(e)an*.
lady, 174; *pl.* *ladyse*, 274; OE. *hlæfdige*.
laghe, custom, 240; late OE. *lagu*.
lanerettis, male falcons, 220; OF. *laneret*.
laners, female falcons, 220; OF. *lanier*.
lappyn, *inf.* clasp, 247; *cp.* OE. *læppa*, a fold of a garment.
large, 115; OF. *large*, *fem.*
laste, last, 52, 323; OE. *latost*.
laughte, *v.* *lache*.
launde, lawn, glade, 24; OF. *launde*.
layde, laid low, 460; OE. *lecgan*.
laye, faith, 197; OF. *lei*.
layke, *n.* sport, 49; ON. *leikr*.
layke, *inf.* make sport, 259; ON. *leika*.
layne, *pp.* *lain*, 655; OE. *licgan*.
laythe, loathsome, 152; ON. *leiðr*.
lede, man, 152, 393; *pl.* *ledys*, people, 106; OE. *lēod*.
lede, *inf.* lead, 256; *pr.* 3 *s.* *ledys*, 352; OE. *lædan*.
lefte, *adj.* 54; OE. *left*.

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- lefte, *v.* leue.
 legge, 75; ON. leggr.
 lele, loyal, comely, 115; OF. leel.
 lelly, faithfully, 274; OF. leel + ly.
 leman, beloved one, 174; OE. lēof + mann.
 lengare, *v.* longe.
 lengen, *inf.* tarry, 199; lenga, 384; *pp.* lenged, 655; OE. lengan.
 lenyde, bent, 152; OE. (ge)hleod, *pp.*
 lepis, *pr.* 3 s. leaps, 240; *pt.* 1 s. lepe, ran (with the point of the knife), 76; OE. hlēapan.
 lessches, leashes, 211; lesses, 238; OF. lesse.
 lesse, lest, 82; OE. ȝȳ læs ȝe.
 leste, *v.* littile.
 lete, *pt.* 1 s. let, 38, 61; OE. lētan.
 leue, *n.* leave, 362; OE. lēaf.
 leue, *inf.* leave, 235; *pt.* 3 s. lefte, 506; *pp.* leuede, 395; OE. lēfan.
 leue, *inf.* believe, 559; *pr.* 1 s. 197; OAngl. lēfan.
 leuere, dearer, 199, 277; OE. lēofra.
 leues, *pl.* leaves, 22; OE. lēaf.
 life, 256; *pl.* lyues, 252; OE. lif.
 lighte, *adj.* 352; OE. lēoht.
 lighte, *inf.* alight, 222; *pr.* 3 *pl.* lightten, 220; *pt.* 3 s. lighte, fell, 323; OE. lihtan.
 lightenede, *pp.* become light, dawned, 16; OE. lihtan + en.
 lightly, 38; OE. lēohtlice.
 likame, body, 275; OE. lichama.
 liste, *pt. impers.* it pleased, 588; *pr. subj.* 168; OE. lystan.
 listen, *inf.* 106; ONorthumb. lysna.
 littill, *adj.* little, 24; *adv. sup.* leste, 259; OE. lýtēl, *sup. adv.* læst.
 loge, *inf.* lodge, 542; *pt.* 1 s. lugede, 663; OF. logier.
 lokes, *pr.* 3 s. 239; *pt.* 1 s. lokede, 24; OE. lōcian.
 longe, *adj.* 28; *adv.* 49; *comp.* lengare, 264, 654; lengere, 613; OE. lang, long; *comp. adv.* leng.
 longede, *pt.* 3 s. abode, 57; OE. (ge)lang, *adj.*; *cp.* lengan.
 lorde, 185; OE. hlāford.
 loste, 49; OE. losian.
 lothe, loathsome, 275; OE. lāp.
 loughes, low, 460, 658; lowe, 229; ON. lāgr.
 louset, *v.* lowsen.
 louted, stooped, 52; OE. lūtan.
 loue, louede, *v.* lufe, luffes.
 lovely, beautiful, 247, 275; OE. luffic.
 lowde, loudly, 234, 656; OE. hlūde.
 lowe, *v.* loughes.
 lowppes, *pr.* 3 s. loops, 238; *etym. unknown.*
 lowsen, *inf.* let loose, 211; *pt.* 1 s. louset, loosened, 61; ON. lauss, *adj.*
 lufe, *n.* love, beloved one, 357, 392; loue, 181, 393; OE. lufu.
 luffes, *pr.* 2 s. loves, 259; *pt.* 3 s. louede, 305; *pp.* luffede, 174; OE. lufian.
 lugede, *v.* loge.
 lure, loss, 323; OE. lyre.
 luyre, lure, 239; OF. leurre.
 lyame, leash, 38, 61; OF. liem.
 lyfe, *inf.* live, 256; OAngl. lifian.
 lykes, *pr. impers.* it pleases, 611; *pt.* lykede, 521; OE. līcian.
 lythe, company, people, 185, 207; ON. lýðr.
 lyues, *v.* life.
 makande, comfort, profit, 278; ON. makindi, friendly intercourse; *cp.* mod. Icel. i makin- dum, at one's ease; hence

GLOSSARY

- makande** = comfort; *cp. also dialect* makint, confident, possessing assurance; makintly, confidently, with ease (*E.D.D.*).
make, *imp. s.* 190; *pl. makes*, 290; *pt. 1 s.* makede, reached, 74; *made*, made, 279; *3 s.* 342; *maket*, 594; *3 pl. maden*, 105; *pp. made*, 48; *makede*, 344; OE. macian.
mane, man, 347; *pl. men*, 104; OE. mann.
manere, manner, 433; AF. manere.
many, 125; OE. manig.
marche, march, boundary, district, 151; OF. marche.
married, *pt. 3 s.* gave in marriage, 540; OF. marier.
marlede, manured with marl, 279; *cp.* OF. marle; med. L. marlære.
marlelyng, dressing land with marl, 142; OF. marle + -ing.
maulerdes, mallards, wild drakes, 221; OF. mallart.
may, *pr. 1 s.* 530; *pt. 3 s.* myghte, 5; OE. magan, meahte.
mayden, 114; OE. mægden.
Maye, May, 1; OF. mai.
maye, maiden, 623; (?) OE. mæg.
maystries, masteries, powers, 469; OF. maistrie.
me, *v. I.*
medill, middle, 649; **midill**, 652; *used as n.* medill, waist, 114; *mydle*, middle (of 'beam'), 26; OE. middel.
medill-elde, middle age, 151; *cp. elde*.
mekyll, great, 479; OE. micel.
men, *v. mane*.
mendis, *pr. 3 pl.* amend, repair, 146; AF. mender; OF. amender.
mendynge, repair, 142; AF. mender + -ing.
mendys, amends, reparation, 359; *aphetic form of* OF. amendes, *pl.*
mene, indicate (call to mind), 630; OE. mēnan.
menge, *inf.* mix, 592; OE. mengān.
menskfully, gracefully, 114; ON. mennska + -fully.
ment, *pt. 3 s.* moaned, 160; OE. mēnan.
mercurye watirs, mercury, 589; med. L. mercurius.
mercy, 160; OF. merci.
mere, mere, lake, 500, 508; OE. mere.
meruaylles, *pl.* marvels, 487; OF. merveille.
meruayllous, marvellous, 606; OF. merveillous.
mery, pleasant, 12; OE. myrige.
metalles, metals, 589; OF. metal.
mete, food, 52; OE. mete.
metyn, *pr. 3 pl.* meet, 221; *pt. 3 s.* mete, 342; *mett*, 495; OE. mētan.
midill, *v.* medill.
mirrours, mirrors, 290; OF. mirour.
mo, *v. myche*.
mode, mud, 433; *cp.* LG. mod.
mody, proud, 302; *comp.* modyere, 295; OE. mōdig.
molde, earth, 295; OE. molde.
momelide, mumbled, chattered, 160; *cp.* Du. mommelen.
monethe, month, 1; OE. mōnaþ.
more, moor, 495; OE. mōr.
more, *moste*, *v. myche*.
mosse, moss, 93; OE. mos.
moste, *pr. impers.* must, 653; OE. mōt, mōste.
mot[ed]en, disputed, 105; OE. mōtian.
mounte, 487; OE. munt; *cp.* OF. mont.
mousede, mused, 140; OF. muser.
moued, *pt. 3 s.* moved, 546; *pp.* mouede, 48; OF. movoir.

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mukkede, manured, 279; *cp.* ON.
moka; Dan. muge.
mukkyng, manuring, 142.
multiplye, *inf.* 589; OF. multiplier.
my, *pron. poss.* 3; myn, 50, 177; OE. min.
myche, much, 276, 511; *comp.* mo, 308; more, 165; *adv. sup.* moste, 292; OE. micel, mycel, m̄ara, m̄a (*adv.*), m̄ast.
myche-whate, many different things, 105; OE. mycel + hwæt.
myddes, middle, 29; myddis, 87; *cp.* OE. t̄o middes.
mydle, *v.* medill.
myghte, *v.* may.
mylde, 665; OE. milde.
myldely, 12; OE. mildelīce.
myn, *v.* my.
mynde, mind, attention, 649; OE. (ge)mynd.
myne, *inf.* call to mind, 530; ON. minna.
my[n]tid, *pp.* attempted (to move), 48; OE. myntan.
myrthe, joy, 316; *pl.* mirthes, 1; OE. myrgþ.
mys-done, *pp.* maltreated, 359; OE. misdōn.
my-selfe, 269; my-seluen, 203; OE. mē self.
mysse, defect, sin, 641; OE. missan, *vb.*; *cp.* Du. mis, error.
mystes, 12; OE. mist.

name, *n.* 134; *pl.* names, 108; OE. nama.
name, *pt.* 1 s. took, 86; 3 s. 539; OE. niman.
namede, *pp.* 167; OE. (ge)namian.
nayles, *pl.* 554; OE. nægl.
naymely, especially, 607; OE. nama + ly.
naytly, thoroughly, dexterously, quickly, 108, 457; naytly, 554; ON. neytr + ly.

nayttede, practised, 607; ON. neyta.
ne, not, 507; ne . . . ne, neither . . . nor, 117; OE. ne.
nede, need, 327; OE. nēd.
neghede, approached, 573; OE. nēah, *adv.*
nekke, neck, 89; OE. hnecca.
nese, nose, 45; nesse, scent, 99; *cp.* MDu. nese.
neuen, *inf.* name, 108, 297; *pp.* neuened, 580; ON. nefna.
no, *v.* none.
noble, 280; nobles, 251; OF. noble.
noghte, not, 288; nott, 536; OE. nāwiht.
nombres, entrails, 86; OF. numbles.
none, no one, 36; no, no, 47; OE. nān.
nones, nonce, 25; for the n. = for then ones; OE. þām, ānes.
nott, *v.* noghte.
noþer, no n. = non oþer, none other, 390; OE. ðær.
now, 166; OE. nū.
nowmbron, *pr.* 3 *pl.* number, 308; OF. nombrer.
noyede, *pt.* 3 s. annoyed, 573; OF. (a)noier, (a)nuier, (?)†nuire, noire.
nygromancye, necromancy, magic, 607; OF. nygromancie.
nyne, 297; OE. nigon.
[nynety], 308; OE. nigontig.

of, 1; in, 313; for, 477; from, 313, 373; *adv.* off, 68, 79, 89, 212, 551; OE. of.
ofte, often, 141; OE. oft.
oke, oak, 95; OE. āc.
olde, 423; *sup.* aldeste, earliest, 300; eldeste, 464; OE. eald; OM. ald.
one, one, 483; *adv.* alone, 117, 149; OE. ān.
one, on, 7, 21, 149, 236; OE. on.

GLOSSARY

one[s], once, 180; OE. ānes.
 opynede, *pp.* opened, 535; OE.
 openian.
 or, 5; OE. oppe; early ME. oðer.
 oryent, east, 334; OF. orient.
 oper, others, 15, 299; othire,
 109; other, 139; OE. oðer.
 oure, *pron. poss.* 486; OE. ūre.
 ouper, either, 271; owthir, or,
 472; OE. āhwæðer.
 ouer, over, 185; OE. ofer.
 ownn, 177; OE. āgen.
 owte, out, 55, 79; OE. ūt.

paleys, palace, 319; OF. palais.
 pappis, breasts, 176; *cp.* ENorw.
 dial. pappe.
 paramours, amorously, 305;
 paramoures, 612; *used as n.*
pl. paramours, lady-loves, 172,
 176; OF. par amours.
 parfourme, *inf.* perform, 205;
 OF. parfourmer.
 parkes, 145; OE. pearruc.
 pase, pass, path, 296; OF. pas.
 passe, *inf.* 296; *pt.* 3 s. paste,
 325; *pp.* passed, 296; *pt.* 3 *pl.*
 surpassed, 421; OF. passer.
 passyoun, 555; OF. passiuin.
 pastures, 280; pastours, 146;
 OF. pasture.
 pawnche, paunch, 82;
 paw[n]che, 84; ONF. panche.
 paynymes, pagans, 421; OF.
 painime.
 penn, feather, quill, 232; OF.
 penne.
 penyes, pennies, 187; OE. pening,
 penig.
 peple, 431; OF. peuple.
 perche, pierce, 82; ONF. perchier.
 pereles, peerless, 399; OF. per
 + less.
 perilous, 470; AF. perillous.
 perles, pearls, 120; OF. perle.
 perry, precious stones, 129; OF.
 pierrie.

perset, pierced, 380; OF. percer.
 pervynke, periwinkle, 9; OE.
 peruinke; ONF. pervenke.
 peteuosely, piteously, 172; OF.
 piteus + ly.
 philozophire, 587; *cp.* OF.
 philosophe.
 piliole, 'penny-royal', wild
 thyme, 9; OF. puliol.
 playstere, salve, 176; OE. plaster,
 OF. plastre.
 pleynede, *pt.* 3 s. lamented, 172;
 OF. plain-, *stem of* plaindre.
 ploughe-londes, ploughlands,
 280; late OE. plōh + land.
 polayle, poultry, 144; OF.
 polaille.
 pompe, 187; OF. pompe.
 poo, peacock, 365; OE. pāwa.
 portours, carriers, 241; OF.
 porteur.
 pouders, powders, 590; OF.
 poudre.
 powndes, 129; OE. pund.
 poynte, 82; for *pat p.*, for that
 very thing, 380; OF. point.
 praye, booty, 341; OF. preie.
 prayed, *pt.* 3 s. 430; prayede,
 353; OF. preier.
 praysed, *pp.* 387, 449; OF.
 preisier.
 presanttes, *pl.* presents, 144;
 OF. present.
 presse, throng, 612; prese, 368;
 OF. presse.
 prestis, priests, 646; OE. prēost.
 preued, *v.* prouen.
 price, *v.* pryce.
 pride, 187, 633; late OE. prȳte;
cp. ON. prȳði; OF. prūt, prūd.
 primrose, 9; OF. primerose.
 prise, *v.* pryce.
 priste, prompt, keen, 421, 618;
 OF. prest.
 pristly, readily, 241; OF. prest
 + ly.
 profers, *pl.* promises, 205; AF.
 profre; OF. poroffrir, *vb.*

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- profettis**, profits, 146; **OF.**
 profit.
prophete, 449; **OF.** prophète.
prouen, *inf.* prove, 205, 532; *pp.*
 preued, 328; **OF.** pruev-, *strong*
stem of prover.
proude, proud, 319; **proude**,
 305; *sup.* **prowdeste**, 612; late
OE. prūt, prūd; **ON.** prūðr;
OF. prūd.
pryce, price, value, 192; **pryse**,
 449; **price**, 129; *used as adj.*
 excellent, 628; **prise**, 328;
pryce, 387; **OF.** pris.
prynce, 324; **OF.** prince.
pulle, *inf.* 319; *pt.* 1 s. **pullede**,
 84; **OE.** pullian.
purchases, *n.* purchase, 145; **OF.**
 purchas.
purchases, *inf.* purchase, 192; *pt.*
 1 s. **purchaseste**, 280; **OF.** pur-
 chacier.
pu[r]fils, borders for robes, 144;
OF. porfil.
purse, 146; **OE.** purs.
puttis, *pr.* 3 s. puts, 232; 3 *pl.*
 putten, 241; *pt.* 1 s. putt, 84;
pp. put, 324; **OE.** putian.
puysonede, poisoned, 399; **OF.**
 poisonner, puisnier.
pyne, suffering, 555; **OE.** *pīn;
cp. **OE.** pīnian, *vb.*
[pyth], marrow, 232; **OE.** piða.

quelled, *pt.* 3 *pl.* killed, 233; **OE.**
 cwellan.
quene, queen, 304; **qwene**, 626;
OE. cwēn.
querrye, quarry, 233; **OF.** cuirée.
quo[pl]es, *pr.* 3 s. whoops, 233;
OF. houer; (?) *cp.* **OE.** hwōpan,
 to threaten.
quotes, *pr.* 3 s. cries 'ho', hoots,
 234; (?) = **ME.** hūten.
quyppeys, *pr.* 3 s. whips, 234; *cp.*
MDan. hvippe.
quysse, *pr.* 3 s. makes a whizzing
 or whirring noise, 234; **ON.**
 hviissa.
qwene, *v.* quene.

radde, afraid; for **r.**, by reason of
 being afraid, 429; **ON.** hræddr.
rakill, hasty, rash, 481; *etym.*
unknown.
ranne, *pt.* 3 *pl.* ran, 429; **OE.**
 rinnan.
rase, at a r., at one rush, 73; **ON.**
 rās; **OE.** rās.
raughte, *pt.* 1 s. reached, caught
 hold of, 75; 3 *pl.* raughten,
 extended, 29; **OE.** ræcan.
rawnsone, *inf.* ransom, 634; *pt.*
 3 s. rawns[on]ede, 414; rawnn-
 sunte, 514; **OF.** ransonner.
raylede, *pp.* arranged in a row,
 adorned, 119, 128; **OF.** reiller.
raynes, reins, 131; **OF.** rene,
 rainne.
reche, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* may reck,
 care, 447; **OE.** reccan.
reches, riches, 141, 282, 634; **OF.**
 richesse.
rede, red, 119, 429; **OE.** rēad.
rede, *inf.* read, 250, 425; **OE.**
 rēadan.
redely, readily, 107, 166; **redily**,
 208; **OE.** (ge)rāde + -ig + -ly.
refte, *pp.* bereft of, 563; **OE.**
 reāfian.
reghte, *v.* righte.
Regum, the book of Kings, 425;
L. regum, *gen. pl.*
reken, *inf.* recount, 107; *pt.* 3 s.
 rekened, 141; *pp.* rekende,
 166; **OE.** (ge)recenian.
releues, relieves, 377; **OF.** relever.
relikes, relics, 556; **OF.** relique.
renke, man, 137; *pl.* renkes,
 253, 346, 425; **OE.** rinc.
rent, *pt.* 1 s. tore away, 87; **OE.**
 rendan.
rent, revenue, 634; *pl.* **renttis**,
 186; **renttes**, 141, 282; **OF.**
 rente.

GLOSSARY

- rere**, *inf.* raise, cause to fly up, 217; *pp.* rerede, set going, 453; OE. *ræran*.
rescowe, *inf.* rescue, recover, 341; OE. *rescoure*.
resorte, *pt.* 3 s. betook itself, 58; OF. *resortir*.
reuelle, *inf.* revel, 253; OF. *reveler*.
reuere, river-bank, hawking-ground, 208; OF. *rivere*, *reviere*.
rewed, *pt. impers.* caused regret, 562; OE. *hræowan*.
rialeste, *v.* *ryalle*.
riche, rich, splendid, 9, 250; *sup.* *richeste*, 119; *rycheste*, 320; OE. *rice*.
richely, splendidly, 29; OE. *rice* + *ly*.
rigge, back, 78; OE. *hrycg*.
righte, *adj.* 75; *adv.* straight, 339; *reghte*, 73; OE. *reht*, *riht*.
riste, rest, 572; OE. *rest*.
ritt, *pt.* 1 s. 75; *ritte*, 73; OE. **rittan* = OHG. *rizzan*.
roddes, rods, 217; OE. *rodd*.
rode, rood, cross, 555; OE. *rōd*.
rode, *v.* *ryde*.
romance, romance, tales of chivalry, 250; OF. *romans*.
rose, 119; OF. *rose*.
rosette, russet, 137; *rosett*, 261; OF. *rosset*, *roset*.
rothelede, rattled, spoke rapidly, 261; (?) *cp.* OE. *hrætel-wyrt*, *rattlewort*.
rowmly, largely, 137; OE. *rūmlice*.
rownnde, round, 468; OF. *rund*.
rubyes, 128; OF. *rubi*.
ryalle, royal, 186; *sup.* *rialeste*, 320; OF. *rial*.
ryalls, royal antlers, the second branch of a stag's horn, lying immediately above the brow-antler, 29; OF. *rial*, *adj.*; *cp.* *surryals*.
ryally, royally, 341; OF. *rial* + *ly*.
rycheste, *v.* *riche*.
ryde, *inf.* 208; *pt.* 3 s. *rode*, 341; *overran*, 514; OE. *ridan*.
ryfe, plentiful, 282; late OE. *ryfe*; ON. *rifr*.
rygalte, sovereignty, 598; OF. *regal* + *ty*; *cp.* OF. *rial*.
ryngen, *pr.* 3 *pl.* ring, 214; OE. *hringan*.
ryotte, dissipation, 253; OF. *riote*.
sadde, solid, 333; OE. *sæd*.
sadill, saddle, 130; OE. *sadol*.
sadly, firmly, 322; OE. *sæd* + *ly*.
sal-jeme, salt gem, a kind of crystal salt, 591; med. L. *sal gemma*.
sall, *v.* *schall*.
salpetir, saltpetre, 591; OF. *salpetre*.
same, 157; OE. *same*, *adv.*; ON. *sami*.
samples, examples, 263; **sampills**, exempla, lessons, 602; *aphetic form of* OF. *essample*.
sanke, *pt.* 3 s. drowned, 437; OE. *sincan*.
saphirs, sapphires, 126; OF. *safr*; L. *sapphirus*.
s[ar]rely (MS. *sorely*; B. *surely*), closely, 322; *cp.* OF. *serré*, in close order.
Sathanas, Satan, adversary, 438; L. (Vulgate) *Satanās*.
satte, *v.* *sitt*.
sattillede, settled, 437; OE. *setlan*.
saule, *v.* *soule*.
sauage, fierce, 616; OF. *sauage*.
sawe, *v.* *see*.
sawes, sayings, 602; OE. *sagu*.
sawtries, psalteries, psalms, 162; OF. *sauterie*.

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- sayde, *pt.* 3 s. 161; sayd, 195; seyde, 173; OE. *secan*.
 sayled, sailed, 489; OE. *seglan*.
 saylen, *pr.* 3 *pl.* assail, 225; *pt.* 3 s. saylede, 534; 3 *pl.* sayled, 303; OF. *asaillir*.
 sayn, *adj.* saint, 487; sayne, 557; *pl. n.* sayntes, 162; OF. saint.
 schadowe, image, 291; OE. *sceadu*, *oblique case* *sceadwe*.
 schall, *pr.* 1 s. 103; *sall*, 168; 2 s. schalte, 257; *pt.* 3 s. scholde, 36; OE. *sceal*, *sceolde*.
 schame, disgrace, 471; OE. *sceamu*.
 schapen, *pp.* shaped, 114; *schapyn*, 137; OE. *scieppan*.
 schawes, thickets, woods, 4, 661; OE. *sceaga*.
 schelfe, shelf, seat, 661; OE. *scilfe*.
 schepe, sheep, 443; OE. *scēap*.
 schewe, *inf.* show, appear, 115, 275; OE. *scēawian*.
 schewere, mirror, 291; OE. *scēawere*.
 schirle, purely, 646; OE. *scīr* + *-ly*.
 scho, she, 540; *dat. acc.* hir, 20; OE. *sēo*, hire.
 scholde, *v.* schall.
 scholdire, shoulder, 54; *pl.* scholdirs, 79; OE. *sculdor*.
 schote, *inf.* shoot, 43; OE. *scēotan*.
 schotte, *n.* shot, 4; OE. (ge)-*sceot*.
 schryue, *imp. pl.* shrive, 646; OE. *scrifan*.
 schunte, *imp. pl.* avoid, 291; (?) *cp.* OE. *scyndan*; ON. *skynda*; OHG. *scuntan*, to hasten.
 schurtted, amused, 661; OE. *scyrtan*, to shorten.
 schutt, *inf.* shut, conclude, 585; OE. *scyttan*.
 s[clis]te, (MS. *sisilte* = *siliste*), *slicad*, 70; OF. *eschicier*, *eschissier*.
 seche, *inf.* seek, 546; *pr.* 1 s. sek[e], 269; 3 s. seches, 63; *pt.* 1 s. soughte, 83; 3 s. soghte, departed, 537; 3 *pl.* soughten, 434; OE. *sēcan*.
 seconde, 136; OF. *second*.
 see, sea, 333; OE. *sēa*.
 see, *inf.* 70, 150; *pr.* 1 s. seghe, 263; *pt.* 1 s. 25, 103; 3 s. seghe, 509, 512; sawe, 512; *pt.* 3 s. subj. see, 501; OE. *sēon*.
 sege, seat (used technically, 'to bring to s.', to bring to ground), 224; 's. perilous', 470; OF. *sege*.
 segge, man, 471; OE. *secg*.
 seghe, *v.* see.
 sekir, secure, 635; OE. *sicor*; L. *sēcūrus*.
 sek[e], *v.* seche.
 selcouthes, *pl.* wonders, 501; OE. *seldan* + *cūp*.
 selfe, seluen, *v.* my-selfe, thyselfe, hym-seluen, joure-seluen, thaim-seluen.
 semblete, *pt.* 1 s. collected, 83; 3 *pl.* semble[d], assembled, 322; OF. *sembler*.
 semely, handsome, 30, 417; noble, 470; *sup.* semely[est], 135; ON. *sæmiligr*.
 semyde, *pt.* 3 s. (it) seemed, 70; hym s., he seemed, 150; ON. *sæma*.
 semys, seams, 126; OE. *sēam*.
 sendys, *pr.* 3 s. 558; OE. *sendan*.
 sere, various, 162, 254, 489; separate, 574; ON. *sēr*.
 serely, severally, particularly, 218, 225; ON. *sērliga*.
 seruede, *pp.* deserved, 570; *aphetic form of* OF. *deservir*.
 seruen, *inf.* serve, supply, 218; *pt.* 3 s. seruēt, 34; OF. *servir*.
 sesone, season, 2; OF. *seson*, *seison*.

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- sesyn**, *pr.* 3 *pl.* seize, 225; *pt.* 3 *s.*
seside, 417; **sessede**, 419; **OF.**
seisir.
sete, seat, 136; **sette**, 100; **ON.**
seti.
sett, *pr.* 1 *s.* 269; *pt.* 1 *s.* 98; 3 *s.* 45,
 173; *pp.* 126; *s.* of *vi.* and of
 fyve, adorned with horns of six
 and five tines, 31; **OE.** **settan**.
sett, *v.* **sitt**.
sette, *v.* **sete**.
seuen, seven, 567; **OE.** **seofon**.
sewet, the fat about the kidneys,
 83; **OF.** **seu** + **et**.
sewet, *v.* **suede**.
sewte, pursuit, 63; **OF.** **suite**.
sexty, sixty, 150; **OE.** **sextig**.
seyde, *v.* **sayde**.
siche, such, 317; **OE.** **swile**.
sighte, 96; **syghte**, 286; **OE.**
 (ge)sihp.
silke, 131; **OE.** **sioloc**.
siluere, silver, 238; **OE.** **siolfor**.
sir, 195; *pl.* **sirres**, 266; **OF.**
sire.
sire, father, 650; **OF.** **sire**.
sitt, *inf.* 20, 179; *pt.* 1 *s.* **satte**,
 100; 3 *s.* 136; **satt**, 130; **sett**
vp. rose up, 432; **OE.** **sittan**.
skaterede, *pp.* scattered, 383;
cp. dial. **scat**, to scatter.
skayled, *pp.* dispersed, 383;
 (?) 'OScand. *skeilla (not found)
 related to ON. **skilja**'; N.E.D.
skyftede, *pp.* moved, dispersed,
 383; **ON.** **skipta**; Dan. **skifte**.
slaughte, slaughter, 314; **OE.**
 *sleht; *cp.* **vælslehta**, *gen.* *pl.*
slayne, *v.* **sloughe**.
sleghe, clever, 36; **ON.** **slægr**.
sleghely, cleverly, 81; cunningly,
 314; **ON.** **slægliga**; *v.* **Note**.
sleghte, sleight, 36, 511; **ON.**
slægð.
slepe, sleep, 36; **OE.** **slæp**, **slēp**.
slepeles, for *s.*, by reason of
 being sleepless, 101; **OE.** **slæp-**
lēas.
sleues, sleeves, 125; OAngl. **slēfe**.
slitte, slit, 81; *cp.* **OE.** **slitan**;
OHG. **slizzan**.
sloughe, *v.* **sloughe**.
slome, heavy with sleep, 101; *cp.*
OE. **slūma**; **MLG.** **slūmen**,
slomen, *vb.*; Dan. **slumme**, *vb.*
slomerde, slumbered, 101; *cp.*
MLG. **slōmeren**; late **MHG.**
slummern, **slommern**.
sloughe, *pt.* 3 *s.* slew, 445; **sloghe**,
 533; *pp.* **slayne**, 314; **OE.**
slēan.
slynge, sling, 445; *cp.* **MLG.**
slinge; **OHG.** **slinga**.
slyppede, slipped, 81; *cp.* **MLG.**
slippen; **ON.** **sleppa**.
smale, small, 662; **OE.** **smæl**.
smote, *pt.* 1 *s.* 53; **OE.** **smitan**.
so, 76; **OE.** **swā**.
socoure, *n.* help, 537; **OF.** **socors**;
AF. **succour**.
sodaynly, suddenly, 636; **OF.**
sodain + **ly**.
softe, mild, 2; **OE.** **sōfte**.
soghte, *v.* **seche**.
some, 243; **OE.** **sum**.
somere, summer, 2; **OE.** **sumor**.
sonde, sand, 333; **OE.** **sand**, **sond**.
sonde, message, 442; **OE.** **sand**,
sond.
sondere, in *s.*, asunder, 383;
sondire, 231; **sondree**, 90;
OE. **sundor**.
sone, son, 650; **OE.** **sunu**.
sone, sun, 100; **OE.** **sunne**.
sone, soon, 58; **OE.** **sōna**.
soppe, sop, 438; **OE.** **sopp**.
sore, sorely, 194; **OE.** **sāre**.
sothe, truth, 103; **OE.** **sōþ**.
sotted, *pt.* 3 *s.* dulled, bleared,
 286; *aphetic form of* **OF.** **asoter**.
sottes, fools, 266; **OE.** **sott**.
soughte, *v.* **seche**.
soule, 195; **saule**, 103; **OE.**
sāwel.
sowdane, sultan, 533; **OE.** **sou-**
dan; Arab. **sultān**.

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- sowed, *pt. impers.* it made sore, 286; (?) *cp.* ON. sviða, Dan. svide, svie, to burn.
- sownnde, sound, uninjured, 434; OE. sund.
- sowre, a fourth year buck, so called from its colour, 34; OF. sor, red.
- sowssches, *pr. 3 pl.* stir, strike, 218; *etym. unknown.*
- spanyells, spaniels, 244; OF. espagneul, a Spanish (dog).
- sparede, *pt. 2 s.* savēdst, 260; OE. sparian.
- speche, speech, 366; OE. spāc, *later form of sprāc.*
- spedd, *pt. 3 s.* sped, 541; *sped*, prospered, 366; *pr. 3 s. subj.* spede, 260; OE. spēdan.
- spedely, speedily, 541; *spedily*, 244; OE. (ge)spēdiglice.
- speke, *inf.* speak, 265, 595; *pp.* spoken, 366; OE. specan, *later form of sprēcan.*
- spend, *inf.* 260; OE. spendan.
- spilles, *pr. 2 s.* perishest, 193; OE. spillan.
- spitte, *pt. 3 s.* 550; OE. spittan.
- spoken, *v.* speke.
- spournede, kicked, 550; OE. spurnan.
- spryngen, *pr. 3 pl.* leap, 244; OE. springan.
- staffe, 289; OE. stæf.
- stale, firmly, stalwartly, 289; OE. steall, a standing position.
- stalkede, *pt. 1 s.* went softly, 41; 3 s. stelkett, 51; OE. stealcian.
- stalkynge, stalking, 21; OE. stealcung.
- stalles, stalls, 190; OE. steall.
- standerte, standard, 376; OF. estandart.
- standes, *v.* stonde.
- stang, *pt. 3 s.* pierced, 446; OE. stingan.
- starede, stared, 51; OE. starian.
- stede, place, 21; OE. stede.
- stede, horse, 190; stede bake, horseback, 272; OE. stēda.
- steele, steel, 446; OE. stiele; OM. stēli.
- steele-wede, armour, 200; OM. stēli; OE. wāde.
- stelkett, *v.* stalkede.
- sterapis, stirrups, 116; OE. stig-rāp.
- stiewarde[s], stewards, 147; OE. stigweard.
- stiffe, strong, 376; styffe, 272; OE. stif.
- stikkess, sticks, small branches, fragments, 41, 376; OE. sticca.
- stillen, *inf.* pacify, 268; OE. stillan.
- stilly, quietly, 41; OE. stille + -ly.
- stirkes, bullocks, 147; OE. stirc.
- stirre, *inf.* stir, 47; OE. styrian.
- stode, *v.* stonde.
- stoken, *pp.* encased, 200; OE. *stecan; *cp.* OLG. stekan.
- stonde, *inf.* stand, 47; stonden, 289; *pr. 3 s.* standes, endures, 604; *pt. 1 s.* stode, stood, 21; OE. standan, stōdan.
- stone, 446; OE. stān.
- storroures, storers, 147; OF. estorer, *vb.*
- storye, 306; AF. storie.
- stotayde, paused, hesitated, 51 *cp.* MLG. stutten.
- stourre, conflict, 272; OF. estour.
- streghte, *pt. 3 s.* stretched, 116; OE. streccan.
- strenghte, strength, 532; *pl.* strengthes, 205; OE. strengþu.
- strikes, *pr. 3 s.* 228; 3 *pl.* striken, 221; stryken, 219; OE. strican.
- stryffe, strife, 268; OF. estrif.
- styffe, *v.* stiffe.
- stynte, *inf.* stop, 268; OE. styntan.
- suede, *pt. 3 s.* followed, 382, 567; sawet, 34; OF. suivir.
- surryals, crown antlers, 30; OF. sur + rial; *cp.* ryalles.

GLOSSARY

swange, *v.* swynge.
 swapped, struck, 551; *cp.* ON.
 sveipa; OE. swāp, *n.*
 swete, sweet, 11; OE. swēte.
 sweuynn, dream, 102; OE.
 swefen.
 swiftly, 500; OE. swiftlice.
 swith, (?) swift, 502; *cp.* swythe.
 swyne, swine, 99; OE. swīn.
 swynge, *inf.* hurl, 500; *pt.* 3 *s.*
 swange, 502; OE. swingan.
 swythe, greatly, quickly, 369;
 OE. swīce; (?) *cp.* swith.
 syde, side, 7; OE. side.
 syghede, sighed, 172; *cp.* OE.
 sican.
 syghte, *v.* sighte.
 sykamoure, sycamore, 130; L.
 sycomorus.
 syled, *pp.* glided, sunk, 658; *cp.*
 Norw. Sw. dial. sila.
 synn, sin, 665; OE. synn.
 synys, signs, 48; OF. sine.
 sythen, since, 335; OE. sippan.

table, 468; OE. tabule; OF. table.
 tachede, *pt.* 1 *s.* fastened, 67; OF.
 tache, *n.*
 tale, active, bold (of speech or
 argument), 105; OE. *ge)tæl.*
 tale, reckoning, 308; OE. talu.
 tame, 342; OE. tam.
 tartaryne, silk of Tartary (pro-
 bably Tharsia, adjoining Cathay,
 i. e. China), 132; OF. tartarin.
 tary, *inf.* detain, hinder, 613; *pr.*
 3 *pl.* taryen, wait, 242; *pt.* 1 *s.*
 tariede, 23; 3 *s.* taried, 361;
 (?) *cp.* OE. tergan.
 tayle, tail, 73; OE. tægel.
 taysede, stretched the bow-string,
 44; OF. teis-, *strong stem of*
 teser.
 tayttely, joyously, nimbly, 219;
 ON. teitr + *ly.*
 teches, *pr.* 3 *s.* teaches, 601; OE.
 tēcān.

techynges, teachings, 604; OE.
 tēcīng.
 telle, *inf.* 103; *pr.* 1 *s.* tell, 159;
 3 *s.* telles, 306; OE. tellan.
 telys, *pl.* teals, 219; *cp.* Du.
 teling.
 tenefull, peevish, 159; OE. tēon-
 full.
 tentid, gave heed, 313; *aphetic*
 form of OF. attenter.
 tentis, tents, 361; OF. tente.
 tenyn, *pr.* 3 *pl.* tease, 242; *pt.* *pl.*
 teneden, grieved, suffered vexa-
 tion, 321; OE. tēonian.
 tercelettes, male falcons, 219;
 tercelettis, 242; AF. tercelet.
 Testament, 423; L. testāmen-
 tum.
 thaire, *pron. poss.* their, 107;
 theire, 237; ON. þeirra.
 than,thane, *v.* then.
 that, the, 601; OE. ðæt.
 that, *adj. dem.* 21; OE. ðæt.
 that, *pron. rel.* 35; þat, 49;
 what, 204; him who, 447;
 OE. ðæt.
 that, *conj.* 16; OE. ðæt.
 thay, they, 367; þay, 13; they,
 215; *dat. acc.* thaym, 67; þam,
 226; ON. þeir.
 thaym-seluen, themselves, 498;
 OE. ðām selfum.
 the, *def. art.* 1; þe, 4; þe, 54;
 late OE. ðe.
 the, *v.* thoue.
 thedir, thither, 19; OE. ðider.
 theire, *v.* thaire.
 theis, *v.* this.
 then, 43; than, 38, 286;thane,
 405; then, when, 393; OE.
 ðanne, ðenne.
 ther-aftir, afterwards, 94; per-
 aftir, 75; OE. ðær æfter.
 there, there, 23; þare, 400;
 there, where, 8, 64, 471, 506;
 ther, 335; OE. ðær.
 there-fro, thence, 97; OE. ðær;
 ON. frā.

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there-to, in addition, 134; þer-to, 32; OE. þærtō.
 ther-vndere, underneath, 42; OE. ȝārunder.
 there-with, 259; OE. þær-wip.
 thes, *v.* this.
 they, *v.* thay.
 thi, thy, 27, 181; thyn, 177; OE. ȝin.
 thikke, thickly, 124; OE. picce.
 thirde, 152; OE. pridda, þirdda.
 thirtene, 262; OE. prēotēne; *v.* Note.
 this, 182; *pl.* thes, 220; theis, 173; thies, 109; OE. ȝis, *pl.* ȝæs.
 thi-selfe, thyself, 651; OE. ȝi(n) + selfum.
 thoghte, *v.* thynkes.
 thynke, *pr. impers.* seems, 637; OE. þyncan.
 thynkes, *pr.* 3 s. 484; *pt.* 1 s. thoghte, 21; OE. þencan.
 tholed, suffered, 403; OE. þolian.
 thorowe, *v.* thurgh.
 thoue, thou, 206, 207; þou, 175; *dat. acc.* the, 178, 192; OE. ȝū.
 thre, three, 104; OE. þreo.
 threpe, altercation, 268; OE. þrēapian, *vb.*
 threpen, *pr.* 3 *pl.* contend in song, 14; *pt.* 3 *pl.* thrependen, argued, 104; *pp.* threpid, 262; OE. þrēapian.
 threuen, grown up, 133; ON. þriffin, *pp.* of þrifa.
 thritty, thirty, 133; OE. þritig, þrittig.
 thro, bold, 104; ON. þrār.
 throly, boldly, eagerly, excellently, 14, 133; ON. þrālīga.
 throstills, throstles, 14; OE. þrostyle.
 thryfte, thrift, 262; ON. þrifi.
 thrynges, presses, 368; OE. þringan.
 thurgh, through, 91; thurgh, 442; thorowe, 238; OE. ȝurh.
 thyn, *v.* thi.

thynges, 606; OE. þing.
 tighte, *pt.* 1 s. drew (from the sheath), 79; *t. vp.* drew up, tightened, 44; OE. tyhtan.
 tighte *vp.*, *pt.* 3 s. set up, 361; (?) OE. tyhtan.
 till, until, 180; to, 52; ON. til.
 titly, quickly, 613; ON. titt, *adv.* + -ly.
 to, *prep.* to, 3; too, 367; *adv.* to, 53; till, 336, 496; OE. tō.
 to-gedire, together, 230; to-gedre, 83; OE. tōgædere.
 to-gedirs, together, 600; OE. tōgædere + -s.
 toke, *pt.* 1 s. took, 79; 3 s. tuke, 313, 569; ON. taka.
 tonge, tongue, 68; OE. tunge.
 totheles, toothless, 159; OE. tōþ-lēas.
 toper, the t. = thet oper, the other, 602; OE. þæt oðer.
 toure, tower, 408; OF. tour.
 to-ward, 360; OE. tōweard.
 to-wardes, 23; OE. tōweardes.
 townn, town, 659; OE. tūn.
 towre, *n.* turn, wheel, flight, 213. OF. tour.
 [t]r[a]poure, saddle-cloth, 132; OF. *trapeüre; med.L. trappātūra.
 trayfoyles, trefoils, 120; AF. trifoil.
 traylede, trailed, 132; OF. trailler.
 tree, 23; OE. trēow.
 trenchore, carving-knife, 79; OF. tranchoire.
 trewe, true, reliable, 326, 408; OE. trēowe.
 trewloues, true lovers' knots, 120; OE. trēowlufu.
 tried, *pp.* chosen, 301; triede, choice, excellent, 120; tried, 525; OF. trier.
 triste, trusty, 565, 624; *cp.* Dan. tröstig.
 tristily, firmly, confidently, boldly, 326.

GLOSSARY

- troches, small tines, 67; OF. troche.
trouthe, troth, 290; OE. trēowþ.
trowde, *pp.* believed, 604; OE. trūwian.
tryed, *v.* tried.
tuke, *v.* toke.
tulke, man, 313; ON. tülkr.
turnede, *pt.* 1 s. 23; turned, 67; late OE. turnian; OF. tourner.
twayne, both, 30, 432; OE. twāgen.
twelue, twelve, 402; OE. twelf, twelfe.
two, 71; OE. twā.
tyde, *inf.*, befall, 471; *pr.* 3 s. subj. 37; *pt.* 3 pl. tydde, 660; OE. tidan.
tylere, handle of a cross-bow, 44; OF. telier.
tymes, 162; OE. tīma.
þam, *v.* thay.
þan, than, 15; OE. ðanne.
þare, *v.* there.
þat, *v.* that.
þay, *v.* thay.
þe, þe, *v.* the.
þer-aftir, *v.* ther-aftir.
þer-fore, therefore, 151; OE. ðær + fore.
þer-to, *v.* there-to.
þoghe, though, 243; ON. *þōh, earlier form of þō.
þou, *v.* thoue.
vmbe, about, 657; OE. ymbe, umbe.
vmbycaste, *inf.* cast about, 61; OE. umbe + ON. kasta.
vnburneschede, unburnished ('deer are said to burnish their heads when rubbing off the dead velvet or skin from the horns'), 26; un + OF. burniss, lengthened stem of burnir.
vncertayne, 636; un + OF. certain.
vnclosede, *pp.* unclosed, open, 336; un + OF. clos- stem of clore.
vndide, ruined, 311; OE. undōn.
vndire-3ode, undermined, 283; OE. undergān.
vnpereschede, undestroyed, 431; un + OF. periss-, lengthened stem of perir.
vnsele, misfortune, 438; OE. unsæl.
vn-to, 386; *cp.* OSax. untō; Goth. und = OE. ōþ.
vp, up, 43, 68; *vp*e, 240; OE. up.
vppon, *v.* appon.
vp-rightes, upright, 116; OE. uprihte + -s.
vs, *v.* we.
vttire, out, 66, 381; OE. ūttor.
vanyte, vanity, 640; *pl.* vanytes, 640; OF. vanité.
vayne[st], 640; OF. vain.
ver[r]ayle, verily, 594; OF. verai + -ly.
vertus, powers, 594; OF. vertu.
vertwells, small rings on a hawk's furniture, 238; OF. vertueil.
waggynge, moving, 40; *cp.* MSw. wagga.
waitted, *v.* wayte.
wake, *inf.* keep awake, watch, 257; *pt.* 3 s. woke, 35; OE. wacan.
wakkened, awoke, 657; OE. wæcnan.
walle, 433; *pl.* walles, 318; OE. weall.
wandrynge = wandreth, misery, 257; ON. vandræði.
wane, wanne, *v.* wyne.
warme, 100; OE. wearm.
warned, *pt.* 3 s. 35; OE. wearnian.
warnestorede, *pt.* 3 s. furnished, 412; OF. warnesture, *n.*
waryed, accursed, 536; OE. wergan.

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- was**, *v. bene*.
watirs, waters, 589; OE. wæter.
wayes, paths, 37; OE. weg.
wayte, *inf.* guard, 99; *pt.* 1 s.
 waitted, watched, 40; wayt-
 ted, 657; 3 s. wayttede, 46;
 pp. 49; OF. waiter.
we, *pron. pers.* 422; *dat. acc. vs.*
 664; OE. we.
weddis, *pr.* 3 s. weds, 386; OE.
 weddian.
wedres, airs, breezes, 2; OE.
 weder.
wele, wealth, 149, 637; OE. wela.
wele-neghe, well-nigh, 193; OE.
 wel nēah.
welthe, wealth, 252; OE. wela
 + -th.
wende, *inf.* turn, 653; go, 632;
 pr. 3 s. wendes, 505; *pt.* 1 s.
 went, 3; 3 s. 37; wente, 404;
 OE. wendan.
werdes, destiny, chances, luck,
 3; OE. wyrd.
were, man, 581; OE. wer.
were, war, 313, 544; OF. werre;
 OHG. werra.
were, *v. bene*, where.
werkes, *pl.* works, 311; OE.
 weorc.
werlde, world, 149, 298; **worlde**,
 332; OE. weorld.
whare, *v. where*.
whatt, *pron. rel.* 501; **whate**,
 103; **whatte**, 294; OE. hwæt.
whedir-wardes, whither, 294;
 OE. hwider + weardes.
when, 1; OE. hwænne.
where, *adv. rel.* 507; **were**, 611;
 whare, 294; OE. hwær.
where, *adv. interr.* 185; **whare**,
 626; OE. hwær.
while, *n.* time, 23, 101; OE. hwil.
while, *conj.* while, 270; **till**,
 398, 535, 575; OE. hwil, *n.*
whills, whilst, 641; **whils**, *till*,
 490; OE. hwil + -es.
whitte, white, 156; OE. hwīt.
who, whoever, 33; OE. hwā.
wiche, which, 293; OE. hwile.
wielde, *inf.* possess, 609; OE. (ge)-
 wieldan.
wiesly, prudently, 40; **wiesely**,
 412; OE. wislice.
will, *n.* 352, 406; OE. willa.
will, *pr.* 2 *pt.* 106; 3 *pt.* **willen**,
 209; *pt.* 3 s. **wolde**, 191, 327;
 OE. willan.
wilnede, *pt.* 3 *pl.* desired to come,
 386; OE. wilnian.
wirchip, worship, honour, 175,
 276; **wirchipe**, 252, 312, 519;
 OE. weorþscipe.
wisdome, 601; OE. wīsdōm.
wiste, *v. wot*.
with, 8; among, 458, 605; OE. wip.
witnesses, *pr.* 3 s. 412; OE.
 wītnes, *n.*
witt, mind, intelligence, 149,
 193; OE. witt.
wittyly, cautiously, 46; OE.
 wītīg + -ly.
wodde, wood, 3; OE. wudu.
woke, *v. wake*.
wolde, *v. will*.
woman, 315; OE. wīfmann.
wondes, *pr.* 3 s. hesitates, 611;
 OE. wandian.
wondirfully, 601; OE. wundor-
 full + -ly.
wondres, *pr.* 3 s. wonders, 505;
 OE. wundrian.
wonne, *imp. s.* dwell, remain,
 193; *pt.* 3 s. **wonnede**, 603;
 OE. wunian.
wonnen, *v. wynne*.
woo, woe, 257; OE. wā.
wordes, 173; OE. word.
worlde, *v. werlde*.
worthe, *adj.* worth, 129; OE.
 weorþ.
worthes, *pr.* 3 s. becomes, 637;
 pp. **worthen**, 461, 485, 648;
 OE. weorþan.
worthieste, 404; OE. weorþīg.
wot, *pr.* 1 s. know, 293; *pt.* 1 s.

GLOSSARY

- wiste**, 283; 3 s. 298, 581; OE. witan.
wothe, danger, 37; ON. vāði.
woundede, *pt.* 3 s. 312; *pp.* 571; OE. wundian.
wroghte, *pt.* 3 s. wrought, 487; *pp.* 315, 648; OE. wyrcan, worhte.
wronge, 648; ON. rangr; late OE. wrang.
wryghede, *pp.* discovered, 97; (?) = wreighede; OE. wrēgan.
wrythen, *pr.* 3 *pl.* twist, 230; OE. wriðan.
wy, person, 193, 298, 336, 609; OE. wiga.
wylde, 99; OE. wilde.
wyles, tricks, 312; OE. wil.
wynde, 35; OE. wind.
wyndide, *pt.* 3 s. scented, 46; OE. wind, *n.*
wynges, 230; ON. vængr.
wynne, *inf.* win, 609; *pr.* 3 *pl.* wynnen, attain, 230; *pt.* 1 s. wane, won, 276; 3 s. 338; wanne, 332; 3 *pl.* 252; wonnen, 463; OE. winnan.
wynter, winters, years, 262; OE. wintru, *pl.*
wyse, wise, 99; OE. wis.
wysede, directed, sent away, 451; OE. wisian.

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 Launcelot de Lake (Launcelat de Lake), 474.
 Londone, 408.
 Lyncamoure, 352.

 Machabee (Machabe), 454.
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 Meneduse (Menodous), 347.
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 [Merchel] (Marchel), 546; (Marchel), 548.
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- Neptolemus (Septelamus), 327.
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 Nychanore (Nycanor), 457.
- Ogere Deauneys (Oggerd the Denys), 523.
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APPENDIX

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES', ETC.

'Tho nine, crownèd, be very exemplair
Of all honour longing to chivalry,
And those, certain, be called the nine worthy ;'

The Flower and the Leaf, 502-4.

I. LATIN HYMN

(Attributed to the XIth century.)¹

Audi, tellus, audi, magni maris limbus,
Audi omne, quod vivit sub sole,
Huius mundi decus et gloria
Quam sint falsa et transitoria,
Ut testantur haec temporalia,
Non in uno statu manentia.

Nulli valet regalis dignitas,
Nulli valet corporis quantitas.
Nulli artium valet profunditas,
Nulli magnae valent divitiae,
Nullum salvat genus aut species,
Nulli prodest auri congeries.
Transierunt rerum materies,
Ut a sole liquescit glacies.

Ubi Plato, ubi Porphyrius?
Ubi Tullius aut Virgilius?
Ubi Thales, ubi Empedocles,
Aut egregius Aristoteles?
Alexander ubi, rex maximus?
Ubi Hector, Troiae fortissimus?
Ubi David, rex doctissimus?
Ubi Salomon, prudentissimus?
Ubi Helena Parisque roseus?

Ceciderunt in profundum ut lapides:
Quis scit, an detur eis requies?
Sed tu, Deus, rector fidelium,
Fac te nobis semper propitium,
Quum de malis fiet iudicium!

II. *From DE MUNDI VANITATE*, attributed to WALTER MAP

(Probably XIIIth century.)²

Dic ubi Salamon, olim tam nobilis?
Vel Samson ubi est, dux invincibilis?
Vel pulcher Absolon, vultu mirabilis?
Vel dulcis Jonathas, multum amabilis?

¹ From Moll's *Hymnarium*, p. 138; translated by J. A. Symonds, in *Wine, Women, and Song* ('King's Classics', 1907, p. 181).

² Thomas Wright: *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Society, 1841, p. 149.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

Quo Caesar abiit, celsus imperio?
Vel Dives splendidus totus in prandio?
Dic ubi Tullius clarus eloquio?
Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio?

III. *From A LUVE RUN*, by THOMAS DE HAILES

(Probably before 1240.)

Hwer is Paris and Heleyne,
þat weren so bryht and feyre on bleo?
Amadas and Ideyne;
Tristram, Yseude, and alle þeo?¹
Ector, wiþ his scharpe meyne;
And Cæsar, riche of wor[l]des feo?
Heo beoþ iglyden vt of þe reyne,
So þe schef[t] is of þe cleo.²
(*Old English Miscellany*, E. E. T. S.)

IV. CURSOR MUNDI (early XIVth century)

[PROLOGUE.]

(MS. R 38, Trinity College, Cambridge.)

Men ȝernen iestes for to here,
And romaunce rede in dyuerse manere;
Of Alisaunder þe conqueroure,
Of Julius Cesar þe emperoure,
Of Greke & Troye the longe strif,
þere mony mon lost his lif:
Of Bruyt þat baron bold of honde,
Furste conqueroure of Engelonde;
Of King Arthour þat was so riche
Was noon in his tyme him liche;
Of wondres þat his knyȝtes felle
And auntres duden men herde telle,
As Wawayn, Kay, & opere ful abul,
For to kepe þe Rounde Tabul:

¹ So I rearrange the text; Morris reads 'Amadas, Tristram, and Dideyne'; MS. 'Amadas and Dideyne. tristram'.

² Probably = As the arrow from the string. [(?) 'Corn from the hill-side,' *Camb. Eng. Lit.*, vol. i, p. 233].

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How Kyng Charles & Rouland fauzt,
 With Sarazines nolde þei neuer be sauzt,
 Of Tristram & of Isoude þe swete,
 How þei wiþ loue firste gan mete;
 Of kyng Ion & of Isombras;
 Of Idoyne & of Amadas;
 Storyes of dyuerse þinges
 Of princes, prelates, & of kynges
 Mony songes of dyuerse ryme,
 As Englysshe, Frensshe, & Latyne.

* * * *

V. *From* PHILIPPE MOUSKES' 'CHRONIQUE'

(XIIIth century.)

Des .iij. lois vous sai je bien dire
 Les .iij. mellors, tot sans desdire.
 OGIERs, au dit des anciens,
 Si fu li mieudres crestiens.
 Li mieudres paiens fu ETOR:
 Cil ot le cuer plus gros d'un tor;
 Ja, s'il n'eüst la vie outrée,
 Troie ne fust si desiertée;
 Etor trençoit os, car et niers,
 Vers lui ne duroit fus ne fiers.
 Li mieudres juis, li plus preus
 Fu, pour voir, JUDAS MACABEUS.
 Des .iij. lois vous ai je nommés
 Les .iij. c'on a mellors clamés,
 Et pour Ogier et pour Rollant
 Vous ai remis Ector avant
 Et Judas Macabeu le fort
 Dont sainte glise fait recort.
 (ll. 7672-89.)

VI. EXTRACT FROM 'LES VŒUX DU PAON'

By Jacques de Longuyon, circa 1312.

(*From MS. Bibl. Nat. 1590, fol. 141, etc.*)

Car puis que Diex ot fait Adam a son plaisir
 Ne nasqui chevalier, qui en faiz¹ maintenir
 D'une seule journée peüst autant soffrir.

¹ MS. fait.

Voirs est qu'ECTOR fu large desmesurément,
 Car, si com les poetes nous vont ramentevant,
 Quant li rois Menelaus a son efforcement
 Vint assegier en Troie le riche roi Priant
 Pour Elayne sa fame qu'il amoit durement
 Que Paris ot ravie ainz cel assablement,
 Hector¹ de la cité prist le gouvernement,
 Es issues c'on fist par son enortement
 Tua .XIX rois sus son cors deffendant,
 Et amiraus et contes, ce croi je, plus de .c.
 Puis l'occist Acillez mout traïteusement.

ALIXANDRE le large, dont je vois ci parlant,
 Qui vainqui Nicholas et Daire le persant
 Et occist la vermine des desers d'Orient
 Et saisi Babyloine la fort cité plaisant
 Ou il morut après par enpoisonnement,
 Reconquist en² xij. anz très viguerusement
 Quanque l'en puet trouver dessouz le firmament;
 N'encor ne li plut mie, ainz dist apertement
 A ses barons .j. jor qu'il tenoit parlement
 Qu'il avoit poi de terre en son gouvernement.³

CESAR prist Engleterre qui tot communement
 Iert nommée Breitaingne, il ala longuement
 Et soumist as Roumainz le roi Casibillant.
 Pompée son serouge qui l'aloit guerroiant
 Desconfist il en Grece et tel plenté de gent
 Qu'il n'est home qui onques en veïst autretant.
 Puis prist Alexandrie la riche et la manant,
 Aufrique, Arrabe, Egypte et Surie ensement,
 Et les illes de mer dessi en Occident.
 Païen furent cil .iiij. dont je puis dire tant
 Que meilleurs ne nasqui aprez eus ne devant.

Escrit truis en la Bible et el Viel Testament
 Les nons des .iiij. juïs qui anciennement
 Firent tant c'on les loe partout communement
 Et loera, je croi, si qu'a definement.
 JOSUÉ vous devons nonmer premierement.
 Par sa sainte priere, par son souhaïement,
 Parti le flun Jordain a travers droïtement,
 Et passerent a sec sans nul enconbrement
 Les Juïs qu'il avoit en son gouvernement.

¹ MS. Hestor.

² MS. ex.

³ Allusion à deux passages du roman d'Alexandre, éd. Michelant, p. 13, v. 16 et p. 249, v. 3.

APPENDIX

Vers midi guerroia cil preudons longuement,
Ou .xij. rois conquist assés parfaitement,
Lesquels il destruist toz assés honteusement,
Et ne lor lessa terre, cité ne casement
Qu'il ne feist torner a son commandement.

DAVID remist a mort Golias le jaiant
Qui de lonc ot .vij. contez ou plus, mien esciant,
Et maint felon paien fist venir a noient,
Et fut en grans batailles partout si bien cheant
C'onques hons nel pot rendre vaincu ne recreant.
De cestui puet chascuns dire certainement
Qu'il fu .j. sains pechierre de hardi convenant.

JUDAS MACABEÛS restoit de tel talent
Que se tout ceuz del siecle li fussent au devant
Armez com por bataille felenesse et nuisant,
Ja tant comme il eüst o soi de remanant
.I. home contre .x. nel veist on fuiant.
Cil Judas Macabée dont je vois rimoiant
Mist Apolonius a mort en combatant,
S'occist Anthiocus qu'il aloit guerroiant
Et Nicanor aussi et maint autre tirant.

III. crestienz resai tiex c'onques hons vivant
Ne vit a meillor d'eus porter hiaume luisant.
D'ARTUS qui tint Bretaingne va le bruit tesmoingnant
Que il mata Ruston, .j. jaiant, en plain champ,
Qui tant par estoit fort, fier et outrecuidant
Que de barbes de rois fist fere .j. vestement,
Liquel roi li estoient par force obeissant;
Si vost avoir l'Artus, mais il i fu faillant.¹
Sus le mont saint Michiel en roccist .j. si grant
Que tuit cil del país en furent merveillant.
En plusors autrez lieux, se l'estoire ne ment,
Vainqui cil rois Artus maint prince outrequidant.

CHARLEMAINE qui France ot toute a son commant
Suspedita Espaigne dont morut Agoulant.
Desiier de Pavie toli son tenement
Et sormonta les Saisnes si trés parfaitement
Par mainte grant bataille, par maint toueillement,
Qu'il furent, maugré eus, a son commandement.
El lieu ou Diex morut pour nostre sauvement
Remist il le baptesme et le saint sacrement.

¹ See Note, l. 481.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

Bien redoit on nomer haut et apertement
 GODEFROI DE BULLONT qui par son hardement
 Es plains de Roumenie desconfit Solimant,
 Et devant Anthioche l'amirant Courberant
 Le jor que l'en occist le fil a roi Soudant.
 De Jerusalem ot puis le couronnement
 Et en fu rois clamez .j. an tant seulement.

Or ai je devisé tout ordenéement
 Les .IX. meillors qui fussent puis le comandement
 Que Diex ot fait le ciel et la terre et le vent.
 Il se maintindrent bien et assés longuement ;
 Mais onques en lor vies, en .j. jor seulement,
 Ne souffrirent tel paine ne tel encombrement
 Com Porrus qui ains ot voué¹ si hautement
 Souffri en la journée dont je tieng parlement.

VII. *From* THE SCOTTISH VERSION OF THE PRE-
 CEDING, 'THE BUIK OF THE MOST NOBLE
 AND VAILZEAND CONQUEROUR ALEXAUNDER',
or, 'THE AVOWIS OF ALEXANDER'

Composed 1438.

Thocht sum men say his vndertaking
 May nocht fulfillit be in all thing,
 At the last for the best doere
 Men suld him hald baith far and neir,
 For sen that God first Adame wrocht,
 In all this warld ane knycht was nocht,
 That anerly at ane I owne,
 aucht sa auansit for to be.
 Suith it is gude Hector was wicht,
 and out of mesure mekill of mycht,
 For at the poynt beris witnessing,
 Quhen Menelayus the mychty King
 assegit in Troy the King Priant,
 For Elene that was sa plesant,
 That Parys forrow that semble,
 Reuisit for hir fyne beaute,
 Hector on him the gouerning,
 tuke of the town and the leding,
 Into the half thrid 3eir all anerly,
 that he loued throw cheualry.

¹ 'Allusion aux Vœux prononcés par Porus'; P.M.

APPENDIX

Of crowned Kingis he slew nyntene,
 But dukes and erlis as I wene,
 That was sa fell it is ferly,
 Syne Achilles slew him tressonabilly.
 Gude Alexander that sa large was,
 That wan Daurus and Nicholas,
 And slew in Inde the great vermyne.
 Babylon he conquered syne,
 Quhare he deit throw poysoning,
 Rang seuin ȝeir as nobill King,
 Wan all this warld vnder the firmament,
 That on ane day in plane parliament,
 He said he had in allkin thing,
 Our lytill land to his leuing.
 Cesar alsua that Ingland wan,
 All that was callit Bertane than,
 To thame of Rome maid vnder lout,
 Cassabylon the King sa stout.
 In Grece alsua discumfit he,
 Pompeyus his mauch is sic plenty
 Of men that neuer ȝit quhare,
 War sene sa mony as thay ware.
 Syne Alexander the great Citte,
 Affrik and Asia als wan he,
 Egypt alsua and Syrie
 And mony vther fare countre,
 And the yles of the sey all hale,
 that war sa mony withouttin fale.
 Thir war Paganes that I of tald,
 And I dar suere and for suith hald
 that better than thay war neuer borne,
 Efter that tyme na ȝit before.

Of thir thre Iowes we find it writ,
 the auld Testament witness it,
 thay did sa mekle that commonly
 All men thame lufs generally;
 And as I trow sall lufe thame ay,
 Euermare quhill domisday.
 Iusua suld first named be,
 That was ane man of great pouste,
 the flum Iordane partit he euin in tua,
 throw his wisdom and prayers alsua,
 And stude on ilk syde as ane wall,
 Quhill his men our passed all;
 toward the south he taryed lang,
 Quhare tuelf Kingis wan he styth and strang,

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

And destroyit thame velanusly,
 And reft thame thare landis halely;
 they turned to his commandement,
 And to him war thay obedient.
 Dauid slew Golyath with strenth,
 That seuin halfe ellis had of lenth,
 And mony ane fell pagan he brocht
 Maugre thairis all to nocht,
 And was ouer all sa wele doand,
 That he was neuer recryand,
 Bot in battell stout and hardy,
 Men may say of him tantingly.
 Iudas Machabeus I hecht,
 Was of sik vortew and sik nicht,
 that thoch thay all that lyfe nicht lode
 Come shorand him as for the dede,
 Armit all for cruell battale,
 He wald not fle forouttin faill,
 Quhill he with him of alkin men
 Nicht be ay ane agenes ten.
 That Iudas that I heirot tell
 Slew Antiochus the fell,
 And Appollonius alsua,
 Nicanor als and mony ma.
 Of thir thre christin men I can tell heir,
 That neuer na better in warld weir,
 Arthur, that held Britane the grant,
 Slew Rostrik that stark gyant,
 That was sa stark and stout in deid,
 that of Kingis beirdis he maid ane weid,
 The quhilk Kingis alluterly
 War obeysant to his will all halely.
 He wald haue had Arthouris beird,
 And failzeit for he it richt weill weird;
 On mount Michaell slew he ane,
 that sik ane freik was neuer nane,
 and ma gyantis in vther places sua,
 Bot gif the story gabbing ma.
 Charles of France slew Agoment,
 and wan Spane to his commandement,
 and slew the duke of Paui,
 and wan the Saxones halely,
 Throw great battell and hard fechtig,
 that thay war all at his bidding;
 and quhair God deit for our sauetie,
 He put the haill christintie;
 Men aucht to lufe him commonly,
 Baith in peirt and priuaty.

APPENDIX

Gaufedere the Bullony throwⁿ cheualry,
 Into the plane of Romany,
 Wincust the mighty Salamant,
 And before Anthioche Corborant,
 Quhen the King Sardanus was slane,
 Than was he king himself allane,
 Of Ierusalem ane zeir and mare.
 Thir ar the nyne best that armes bare;
 I haue deuysit 3ow ordourly,
 that leuit weill and cheualrusly,
 Bot neuer thair lyfetye on ane day,
 tholit thay sik pyne and sik affray,
 As Porrus that sa haltanly
 Avowit had throw cheualry,
 Amang the ladeis that war fre,
 Quhen the poun to deid brocht he.

(pp. 402-6.)

VIII. *From HUCHOWNE'S 'MORTE ARTHURE', c. 1380*

(*The Interpretation of Arthur's Dream.*)

Take kepe 3itte of *other* kynges, and kaste in thyne herte,
 That were conquerours kydde, and crownede in erthe;
 The eldeste was Alexandere, *that* alle the erthe lowttede;
 The *tother* Ector of Troye, the cheualrous gume;
 The thirde Iulyus Cesare, *that* geant was holdene,
 In iche jorneⁿ jentille, a-juggede with lordes;
 The ferthe was *sir* Iudas, a justere full^e nobille,
 The maysterfulle Makabee, the myghttyeste of strengthes;
 The fyfte was Iosue, *that* joly mane of armes,
That in Ierusalem oste full^e myche joye lymppede;
 The sexte was Dauid *the* dere, demyd with kynges
 One of the doughtyeste *that* dubbede was euer,
 for he slewe with a slynge, be sleyghte of his handis,
 Golyas the grette gome, grymmeste in erthe;
 Syne endittede in his dayes alle the dere psalmes,
That in the sawtire ere sette with selcouthie wordes.

The two clymbande kynges, I knawe it for-sothe,
 Salle Karolus be callide, the kyng sone of Fraunce;
 He salle be crowelle and kene, and conquerour holdene,
 Couere be conqueste contres ynewe;
 He salle encroche the crowne that Crist bare hym selfene,
 And *that* lifeliche launce, that lepe to his herte,
 When he was crucyfiede one crose, and alle the kene naylis,
 Knyghtly he salle conquere to Cristyne men hondes.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

The *tother* salle be Godfraye, that Gode schalle reuenge
 One *the* Gud Frydaye with galyarde knyghtes;
 He salle of Lorrayne be lorde, be leefe of his fadire,
 And syne in Ierusalem myche joye happyne,
 ffor he salle couer the crosse be craftes of armes,
 And synne be corownde kyng, with krysme enoyntede;
 Salle no duke in his dayes siche destanye happyne,
 Ne siche myschefe dreghe, whene trewthe salle be tryede!
 ffore-thy ffortune *the* fetches to fulfille the nowmbyre,
 Attis nynne of *the* nobileste namede in erthe;
 This salle in romance be redde with ryalle knyghttes,
 Rekkenede and renownde with ryotous kynges,
 And demyd one domesdaye, for dedis of armes,
 ffor *the* doughtyeste *that* euer was duelland in erthe:
 So many clerkis and kynges salle karpe of youre dedis,
 And kepe youre conquestez in cronycle for euer!

11. 3406-46.

IX. THIS WARLD IS VERRA VANITÉ¹

(Prob. end of XIVth century.)

I.

Man, haue mynd and þe amend
 Of all thi mys quhill at þou may;
 think wele that all thing has ane end,
 for erd til erd is ordanit ay:
 think wele, man, þat þou mon wend
 out of þis warld a wilsome way,
 for with na kynrike þou beis kend
 fra þat þi cors be cled in clay.
 þi son will seildin for þe say
 þe salter; seldin þat we see;
 þan freindeschip failþeis & gude fay:
this world is verra vanité.

II.

Veraly may nane divyne
 The vanité þat now avowis:
 yneuch þer-of, I heir of nyne
 þe nobillist, quhilk nane now is;
 Athour/Charlis/Gothra syne,
 David/Judas/Josue/Jowis,

¹ From the Graye MS. First printed by the Editor in the *Athenaeum*, No. 3883, March 29, 1902.

APPENDIX

Julius Cesar the Sar[z]in,¹
 Ector pat all Troy in trowis,
 Alexander pat all to bowis
 To tak tribut of town & tre;
 þer lif is gane/and nocht ane now is:
þis world is verra vanité.

III.

For David [schawis]² in-samplis seir;
 sindrie we see of Salamo[u]n,
 quhom of þe welth is went but weir;
 and fors is failzeit of Sampson;
 [The]³ fairhede at had neuer feyr
 Is fadit fast of Absoloun;
 The rioll rynkis ar all in weyr
 At rass with rioll Jedeoun;
 and mony vthir gay ar gone:
 now to þis sampill haue gude E,
 oute of þis countre sen we mon;
this world is verray vanité.

IV.

Mony pape ar passit by,
 patriarkis, prelati, and preist,
 kingis & knichtis in company,
 uncountit curiously vp I kest:
 women and mony wilsom wy,
 as wynd or wattir ar gane west:
 fish, & foule, & froit of tree
 on feild is nane formit na fest.
 Riches adew; sen all is drest
 þat þai may nocht þis dule in dre,⁴
 sen nocht has life þat heir ma lest,
this world is bot a vanité.

V.

Quhar is Plato þat clerc of price,
 þat of all poetis had no peir?
 or zit Catoun with his clergiss?
 or Aristotill þat clerc so cleir?
 Tulliouss þat wele wauld tiss?
 to tell his trety[s] wer full teyr!
 or Virgil þat wes war & wise,
 and wist all wardly werk but we[i]r?

¹ MS. *sergin*.

² Not in MS.

³ MS. Of.

⁴ The scribe first wrote 'indure'.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

is nane sa dowitz na sa dere,
 þan but redeming all mon dee:
 þerfor I hauld, quha euir it heir—
This world is verray vanité.

VI.

Ane vthir exsampil suth to say,—
 in summeris day full oft is sene
 thir emotis in ane hillock ay
 rinnand oute befor þin ene;
 with litill weit þai wit away,
 sa worthis of ws all I wene;
 may nane indur our his enday;
 bot all our drivis as dew bedene,
 þat on the bery bidis bene,
 and with a blast away wil be;
 quhile girss ar gray, quhile ar þai grene;
this world is verray vanité.

VII.

To tell of [C]rec[u]ss¹ war full teyr;
 I have na tyme to tell þe teynd:
 all gais hyne þat euer wes heir,
 to hevin or hell is þe last ende:
 let neuer þe feynd, þat fellow feyr,
 þe fang, bot fra him þe defend:
 beseke God & our lady deir,
 quhilk sall þe sone to sucour send,
 and with þaim be þi lugin lend,
 & low God quhill þou liffis in lee:
 now, man, have mynd and þe amend,—
þis world is verray vanité.

X. ANE BALLET OF THE NINE NOBLES

(c. 1440: from Fordun's Chronicle, Univ. Lib., Edin.; *vide* Laing's
Select Remains.)²

DE NOUEM NOBILIBUS.

Hectour of Troy throu hard feichthyngis,
 In half thrid ȝeris slew xix kyngis,
 And ammirallis a hundred and mare,
 Wyth small folk at vnrackynnit war;
 He slew sa fell, at wes ferly,
 Qwham Achilez slew tresnabli.

¹ MS. tretiss.

² Cp. Dr. Craigie's article, *Anglia*, xxi, to which I am indebted for the emendations in brackets.

APPENDIX

Alexander als nobil a kyng,
In xij ȝeris wan throw hard feichtyng,
Al landis vnder the formament.
Eqwhethir adai in till parlement,
He said, he had but variance,
Our litill in till his gouernance.

Julius Cesar wan hailily
The ilis of Grece, and all Surry;
Affrick, Arab, Bretan wan he,
And discumfit his mawche Pompe:
Throw hard batell, and stalward stour,
He was the first was emperour.

The gentill Jew Schir Josue,
[Ane &] xxx kyngis throw weir wan he;
And conquirit the landis also,
The flum Jordan pertit in two
Throw Goddis grace, and strang power;
Men suld hym loff on gret maner.

Dauid slew mychthy Goliass,
And Philistens at felon was;
He wes so wycht, et weill feich[t]and,
That he wes neuer sene recriand;
Thairfor men call him, loud and still,
A trew prophet of hardy will.

Michty Judas Machabeus
In bathell slew Antiochus,
Appolonius and Nichanore,
At in his dais wald neuer shor,
No multitud be adred of men,
Thoft he war ane eganes ten.

Arthur wan Dace, Spanze, and France,
And hand for hand slew tua giantis;
Lucius the publik procuratour
Of Rome, wytht milleonis in stalwar stour;
And in till Pariss Schir Frollo¹
In lystis slew wyth [other] mo.

¹ This personage, who is introduced to exemplify the prowess of Arthur, according to the Chronicles, was a Roman knight, governor of Gaul. His name and that of 'Lucyus the emperour of Rome' are frequently alluded to.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

Charles of France slew Aygoland,
And wan Spanȝe fra hethoun [h]and;
He slew the sowden of Pavi,
And wan the Saxonis halily;
And quhar God deid for our safté,
He put haly the Christanté.

Godefrey Bolȝone slew Solimant,
Before Antioche, and Cormorant,
Quham he throu ful strak had ourtane,
Throu cop and har[n]ez his glave is gane;
Sere hethownis he slew throu hard feychtyng,
And of Jerusalem a ȝeir was Kyng.

Robert the Brois throu hard feich[t]yng
With few venkust the mychtthy Kyng
Off Ingland, Edward, twyse in fycht,
At occupit his realme but rycht;
[And] sum tyme wes set so hard,
At hat nocht sax till hym toward.

ȝe gude men that thir balletis redis,
Deme quha dochtyst was in dedis.

XI. WOURLDLY MUTABILITE

Attributed to Lydgate.

(From Harl. 2255, fol. 128b-31a.)¹

So as I lay this othir nyght
In my bed, tourning vp-so-doun,
Whan Phebus with his beemys bryght
Entryd the signe of the lyoun,
I gan remembre with-inne my resoun
Vpon wourldly mutabilite,
And to reccorde wel this lessoun:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

I thoughte pleyntly in my devise,
And gan conside in myn entent
How Adam whyloom in paradise
Desceyved was of a fals serpent

¹ Koeppel printed stanzas 7, 8, 10, 11, in *Anz. f. deutsches Alterthum*, 24; Koelbing quoted these stanzas in *Englische Studien*, xxv; the whole poem has not yet been printed off.

APPENDIX

To breke Goddys comaundement,
 Wheer-thorough al his posteryte
 LERNYD by short avisement:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

For etyng of an appyl smal
 He was exyled from that place;
 Sathan maade hym to haue a fall,
 To lese his fortune and his grace,
 And from that gardeyn hym enchace
 Fulle ferre from his felicitye;
 And thanne this song gan hym manace:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

And had nought been his greet offence,
 And this greet transgressioun,
 And also his inobediencé
 Of malice and of presumptioun,
 Gyf credence ageyn al resoun
 To the develys iniquite,
 We had knowe no condicioun
Of timor mortis conturbat me.

This lastyd forth al the age,
 Ther was noon othir remedye,
 The venym myght nevir aswage
 Whoos poyssoun sprong out of envye
 Off pryde, veynglorye and surqued[r]ye,¹
 And lastyng til tyme of Noye,
 And he stood eek in jupartye
Of timor mortis conturbat me.

Froom our fore-fadir this venym cam,
 Fyndyng nevir noon obstacle,
 Melchisedech nor of Abraham,
 Ageyn this poyssoun by noon pyacle;
 But of his seed ther sprang tryacle,
 Figure of Isaak, ye may rede and see,
 Restore to lyff by hih myracle
 Whan *timor mortis conturbat me.*

Moyse with his face bryght,
 Which cleer as ony sunne shoon;
 Josue, that was so good a knyght,
 That heng the kynges of Gabaoon;
 Nor the noble myghty Gedeoon
 Had no poweer nor no powste,
 For ther famous hih renoun,
 Ageyn *timor mortis conturbat me.*

¹ MS. surquedye.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

Sampson that rent the lioun
On pecis smale, thus stood the caas;
Nor Dauid that slowh the champyoun,
I meene the myghty greet Golias;
Nor Machabeus the strong Judas,
Ther fatal ende whoo-so lyst see,
Both of Symon and Jonathas,
Was *timor mortis conturbat me*.

In the Apocalips of seyn John,
The chapitlys whoo-so can devyde,
The apostyl thoughte that he sawh oon
Vpon a paale hors did ryde,
That poweer hadde on euery syde;
His name was deth, thorough cruelte;
His strook, whoo-so that durste abyde,
Was *timor mortis conturbat me*.

Rekne alle the wourthy nyne,
And these olde conquerours;
Deth them made echoon to fyne,
And with his dedly mortal shours
Abatyed hath ther fressh flours,
And cast hem down from hih degree,
And eek these myghty emperours,
With *timor mortis conturbat me*.

These ladyes that were so fressh of face,
And of bewte moost souereyn,
Ester, Judith, and eek Candace,
Alceste, Dido, and fayr Eleyne,
And eek the goodly wy[v]es¹ tweyne,
Mar[c]ya² and Penelope,
Were enbracyd in the cheyne
Of *timor mortis conturbat me*.

What may all wourldly good awaylle,
Strengthe, konnyng and rychesse,
Nor victorye in bataylle,
Fame, conquest, nor hardynesse,
Kyngdammys to wyne or oppresse,
Youthe, helthe, nor prosperyte?
All this hath here no syknesse
Ageyn *timor mortis conturbat me*.

Whan youthe hath doon his passage,
And lusty yeerys been agoon,
Thanne folwith afftir crookyed age,
Slak skyn and many a very boon.

¹ MS. wywes.

² MS. Maroya, emended by Koepfel.

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The sunne is dirk that whylbom shoön
Of lusty youthe and fressh bewte,
Whan othir socour is ther noon
But *timor mortis conturbat me*.

In August whan the levys falle,
Wyntir folwith afftir soone,
The grene of somyr doth appalle,
The wourld is changeable as the moone;
Than is there no moore to doone
But providence in ech degree,
Of recure whan thar is no boone
Saaff *timor mortis conturbat me*.

Ech man be war and wys beforne,
Or sodeyn deth come hym to saylle;
For there was nevir so myghty born,
Armyd in platys nor in maylle,
That, whan deth doth hym assaylle,
Hath of diffence no liberte,
To thynke afore what myght awaylle
On *timor mortis conturbat me*.

Enpreente this mateer in your mynde,
And remembre wel on this lessoun:
Al wourldly good shal leve be-hynde,
Tresour and greet pocioun;
So sodeyn transmutacioun,
Ther may no bettir socour be
Thanne ofte thynke on Cristes passioun,
Whan *timor mortis conturbat me*.

XII. GOLAGROS AND GAWAYNE

(c. 1470.)

Hectour and Alexander, and Julius Cesar,
David and Josue, and Judas the gent,
Sampson and Salamon, that wise and wourthy war,
And that ringis on erd, richest of rent;
Quhen thai met at the merk, than might thai na mair,
To speid thame our the spere-feild enspringing thai spreit.¹
(ll. 1233-8.)

¹ Cp. VI. 'Is it out of respect for historical accuracy that our poet has substituted Sampson and Salamon?' F. J. Amours, *Scottish Allit. Poems in Riming Stanzas*, p. 284; v, note on the passage.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

XIII. EARLY MUMMING PLAY ON THE NINE
WORTHIES (XVth century)

(Tanner MS. 407, *temp.* Edward IV; first printed by Ritson, in
'Remarks on last edition of Shakespeare', 1783.)

IX. WORTHY.

ECTOR DE TROYE. Thow Achylles in bataly me slow,
Of my wurthynes men speken i-now.

ALISANDER. And in romaunce often am I leyt¹,
As conqueror gret thow I seyt².

JULIUS CÆSAR. Thow my cenatoures me slow in Constory³,
Fele londes byfore by conquest wan I.

JOSUE. In holy Chyrche ye mowen here and rede
Of my wurthynes and of my dede.

DAVID. Aftyr that slayn was Golyas
By me the Sawter than made was.

JUDAS MACABEUS. Of my wurthynesse ȝyf ȝe wyll wete
Seche the Byble, for ther it is wrete.

ARTHOUR. The Round Tabyll I sette with knyghtes strong,
ȝyt shall I come aȝen, thow it be long.

CHARLES. With me dwellyd Rouland Olyvere
In all my conquest fer and nere.

GODEFREY DE And I was kyng of Jherusalem;
BOLEYN. The crowne of thorn I wan from them.

¹ *i. e.* esteemed, honoured.

² Ritson, = 'seyt', *i. e.* say it'; prob. = set (= sette) = declined, sank.

³ Ritson, Conllory. Conftory = Consistory.

APPENDIX

XIV. VERSES ON EARLIEST WOOD-BLOCK

(1454-7.)

Preserved in Bibl. Nat. (Anciens Fonds Franç., No. 9653).

*[The Nine Worthies are vividly depicted with their heraldic devices;
these lines explain the several personages.]*

HECTOR DE TROYE.

Je sui Hector de Troie ou li povoir fu grans.
Je vis les Greciens qui moult furent puissans,
Qu'assegier vinrent Troie ou il furent lonc tanz.
Ja occis XXX rois come preus et vaillans.
Archiles me tua, ja n'en soies doubtons,
Devant que Dieu nasqui XIII^e et XXX ans.

LE ROI ALEXANDRE.

Par me force conquis les yles d'outre mer,
D'Orient, d'Occident me fis sire clamer;
Roy Daire desconfis: Porus vols conquerer,
Et le grant Babilonne pris toute à gouverner.
Tout le monde conquis, mes par empuissonner
VIII^e ans devant Dieu me fist on afiner.

JULIUS CÉSAR.

Empe[re]ur fu de Romme et en maintins les drois.
Engleterre conquis, France et les Navarois.
Pompée desconfis et tous ses grans conrois;
Et Lombardie oussi fu mise à mes voloires
Et tous les Allemans. Puis fu occy tous frois
Devant que Dieu nasqui VII^e¹ ans avecq III.

JOSUÉ.

Des enfans d'Israël fu ge forment amés.
Dieu fist maintes vertus pour moi; c'est vérités.
Le rouge mer parti. Puis fu par moi passés
Le flum Jourdain. S'en fu maint paien affinez.
XXII. rois conquis, puis moru, n'en doutez,
V^e ans devant che que Jhesus Crist fu nés.

LE ROI DAVID.

Je trouvai son de harpe et de psalterion
Je tuai Goliath le grand gaiant felon:
En bataille et ailleurs me tint on a preudom.
Après le roi Saul maintins la region,
Et je² prophetizai de Dieu la nacion,³
Bien III^e ans devant son incarnation.

¹ (?) XL.

² Text reads *se*.

³ nacion = naissance.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

JUDAS MACHABEUS.

Je tins Iherusalem et le loy de Moyse,
Qui estoit quand je vins a perdition mise.
Les ydoles estai, si mis la loy juise.
Antioqus tuay dont le gent fu occise,
Et Apolonion; puis moru, quand g'y vise,
C ans avant que Dieus ot char h[um]aine prise.

LE ROY ARTUS.

Je fu roy de Bretagne, d'Escoche et d'Engleterre;
Maint roialme je vos par ma force conquerre;
Le grant gaiant Rusto fis morir et deffaïre.
Sus le mont Saint Miciel un aultre en alai querre.
Je vis le sang Greal; mes la mort me fist g[ue]rre,
Qui m'ochit V^e ans puisque Dieus vint sus terre.

CHARLELEMAND.

Je fu roy des Rommains, d'Alemagne et de France,
Je conquis toute Espaigne et le mis en créance,
Jaumont et Agoullant ochis par me puissance,
Et les Sainnes oussi destruisi par vaillance.
Pluseurs segneurs rebelles mis à obeissance,
Puis moru VIII^e ans après Dieu le nessance.

GODFREY DE BUILLON.

Je fu duc de Buillon dont je maintins l'onneur.
Por gerrier paiens je vendis ma tenour.
Ens es plains de Surie je conquis l'Aumachour,
Le roi Cornumarant ochis en un estour.
Iherusalem conquis et le pais d'entour.
Mors fu XI^e ans après nostre Segnour.

XV. PROLOGUE TO PROSE 'ALEXANDER'

(From MS. belonging to the end of the XIVth or beginning of XVth century.)

Bruns's *Altplattideutsche Gedichte* (1798).

KONING KARL. Wol mi, dat ek ju wart.
Al Sasseslant han ik bekart.

ARTUS. An mynem hove mach me schawen
ritter, spel, schon juncvrauwen.

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- GOTFRIT. Cristus graf over mer
dat wan ek mit minen her.
- DAVID. Ek was en clene man;
Golliat dan resen ek overwan.
- JUDAS. To stride was ek unvorsaged.
van dem velde wart ek nu gejaget.
- JOSUE. Got let my de sunnen stan:
dre un drittich koninge ek over-wan.
- JULIUS. To Rome was ek en keiser grot;
Pompeo dede eke grote not.
- HECTOR. Ek hebbe vochten mennigen strit;
Achillis sloch mi; dat was nyt.
- ALEXANDER. Mir ist wol gelungen;
Al de werit han ek bedwungen.

XVI. *From* HARVARD MS. OF LYDGATE'S 'GUY OF WARWICK'

(c. 1450.)¹

Floruit Arthur sub rege Britannia quondam,
Gallia sub Carolo floruit illa suo,
Non minor his ibat magnus Godfridus in armis,
Quo sese iactat Belgica terra vetus.

Hector, Alexander, Romanae gloria gentis,
Iulius eximie nobilitate viri,
Et valida virtute pares dignissima turba,
Quam vehat arguta fama canora tuba.

Iosua, dux Israell, David, Macabeus Iudas,
Quos Iudae tellus protulit alma viros;
His domiti quondam reges pepere triumphos
Insignes et nunc fama perenna vehat.

¹ Cp. (Harvard) *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. v (*Child Memorial Volume*), 1896, on two MSS. of Lydgate's *Guy of Warwick*, by F. N. Robinson.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF 'THE NINE WORTHIES'

XVII. HARL. MS. 200; XVth-century handwriting

.iij. Pagani.

.iij. Judei.

HECTOR, ALEX, JULIUS,

DAVID, JOSUE, MACHABEUS,

.iij. Christiani.

CAROLUS, ARTHURUS ET PRECELLENS GODEFRIDUS.

XVIII. LANSD. MS. 762; *temp.* Henry VII

Saraceni.

Judei.

ECTOR, ALEX, JULIUS;

DAVID, JOSUE, MACHABEUS;

Cristiani.

ARTUR CUM CAROLO, GALFRIDUM LINQUERE VOLO:

ISTI SUNT TER TRES TRINI FIDEI MELIORES.¹

¹ To the beginning of the XVth century belong the rather prosaic stanzas on the Nine Worthies at the end of Stephen Hawes's *Passelyme of Pleasure*. K. notes Barclay's references to Caesar, Alexander, Charlemagne, Godfrey, &c. in the *Ship of Fools*, where 'the ende of worldly honour and power' is treated of.

'SEE ALISANDRE, HECTOR, AND JULIUS,
SEE MACHABEUS, DAVID, AND JOSUE,
SEE CHARLEMAYNE, GODFRAY, AND ARTHUS,
FULFILD OF WERRE AND OF MORTALITEE:
HIR FAME ABIT, BUT AL IS VANITEE,
FOR DETH, WHICH HATH THE WERRES UNDER FOTE,
HATH MADE AN ENDE, OF WHICH THERE IS NO BOTE.'

Gower, *Balade to*
King Henry the Fourth.





SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS

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III

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE BETWEEN WINNER AND WASTER

An Alliterative Poem on Social and Economic Problems
in England in the year 1352
With Modern English Rendering



HUMPHREY MILFORD: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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WYNNERE AND WASTOURE

AC I SHAL SEYE AS I SAW, SO ME GOD BELIEVE,
HOW FEETLY AFORE THE POWERE KNOWN CAN TO FEYDE.
HE BAD WASTONKE GO WORKE WHAT HE BEST COULDE,
AND WYNNEH HIS WASTING WITH SOMME MAYERS CRAFT.

From Plowman, B. V. 22-5.

PREFACE

The Manuscript. *Wynnere and Wastoure*, first printed by the present editor as an Appendix to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, issued by the Roxburghe Club in 1897, and now for the first time edited, follows that poem in the fifteenth-century Thornton manuscript, British Museum Add. MSS. 31042. It is in the scribe's characteristic hand, as may be seen from the pages reproduced in this volume. The manuscript is incomplete, and no other text is extant.

The scribe must have copied *Wynnere and Wastoure* from a manuscript illegible in many parts. A minute study has revealed an unexpectedly large number of errors due to corruption, misreading, substitution of words, and other causes. A comparison of the Thornton text of *Wynnere and Wastoure* with that of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* makes it quite clear that it must have passed through various stages of corruption before it reached the scribe. The text before him may have been derived from a copy of the poem carried in a minstrel's wallet, which had become illegible in many places.

The substitution of more modern words for difficult, rare, and archaic forms, and the obvious attempts to make some sense of corrupt passages, must be referred to scribal intention, whether on the part of Thornton or a predecessor.

The task of dealing with the many errors has necessitated very bold treatment of the text, as may be seen from the long list of emendations. There is perhaps no more corrupt Middle-English manuscript than this of *Wynnere and*

Wastoure. It is hoped that the poet's diction as well as the meaning of this remarkable poem may now have been restored.

Probably very little of the poem is lost. The dreamer no doubt was roused from his vision by the sound of trumpets, and found himself resting by the bank of the burn, the tale ending with some pious reflection, by way of conclusion.

Authorship of the poem. There is no clue to the name of the poet, though from the Prologue it may be inferred that he was a 'western man'. He was certainly a professional minstrel, of humble rank.¹ To him we may safely assign the authorship of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*; the two poems may be described as companion poems. Passages in the one are strongly reminiscent of passages in the other;² the general framework of the two pieces is much the same; whole lines are identical;³ further, the tests of language and metre all tend to confirm identity of authorship.

Date of the poem. Internal evidence dates the poem as belonging to the year 1352. In l. 202 it is explicitly stated that the king, Edward III, has fostered and fed the disputants these five-and-twenty years. Further, there is distinct allusion to the Statute of Treasons (1352), evidently recently promulgated, ll. 130-3; and many references to be discussed further on corroborate this evidence.

The following time-indications and contemporary allusions are noteworthy:

(i) The striking reference to the Order of the Garter,

¹ The attempt to identify him with the noble 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale' ignores this personal clue. There is no evidence in any way tending to make the theory at all possible (cp. *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, by George Neilson, 1902).

² Cp. e.g. ll. 110-20, *Parl.* 110-35; cp. description of Waster generally with Youth in *Parl.*, and Winner with Middle Age.

³ Cp. l. 37 with *Parl.* 14, l. 240 with *Parl.* 189. Other parallels are referred to in the Notes *passim*.

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ll. 160-8, with its famous motto, *Honi soit qui mal [y] pense*, excellently rendered into English alliterative verse, 'Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes'.¹ The foundation of the Order is now generally assigned to 1344, but its institution was not carried out till St. George's Day, 1349.

(ii) The delightful picture of the Black Prince, '3ongeste of 3eris and 3apeste of witt', already 'dubbede knyghte', and bearing the three ostrich feathers, ll. 103-20, probably already associated with his motto 'Ich dien'.² This could not have been written many years after the Prince's heroic feats at Crécy; these had won for him honour and fame. At the beginning of that campaign he received knighthood from his father.

(iii) The heraldic allusions, ll. 74-80,—the combined arms of the two countries, 'the lely and the lepard' (as another contemporary poet, Minot, puts it) 'gedered on a grene'. This reference must have had special point after Edward's great victory, though he had already, as early as 1337, quartered the arms of France. The poet was evidently emphasizing that, at the time he was writing, no negotiations involving the renunciation of Edward's claim to the French crown were under consideration. It was in July 1353 that Edward offered to give up his claim to the crown on receiving Guienne, Normandy, Ponthieu, and other demands.

(iv) The description of Edward III with his 'bery-brown berde'. He is evidently of early middle age, that is about forty.

(v) 'Ynglysse besantes full brighte, betyn of golde', l. 61; this looks like a special reference to the new issue of gold coinage in 1351. The famous English 'noble', which had been first struck in 1343, was deservedly pre-eminent

¹ It is to be noted that at the end of the MS. of *Sir Gawayne*, Cott. Nero A. x, there is written in the same hand as the rest of the poem, *Hony soyt qui mal pence*.

² See Note on l. 108.

throughout Europe as the best of all coins, with its rich device of the monarch in his ship, with the banner of St. George flying at the mast, in the King's right hand a sword, in his left a shield with the arms of France and England.¹ But of course the noble did not bear the motto of the Garter. In making the pavilion appear lavishly covered with these English besants, the poet is evidently hinting at the extravagance associated with the Royal House. The application of the motto served as the fitting retort to those who censured all this waste of the nation's resources, the pomp and display of the Order.

(vi) The growing suspicion of the Friars as self-seekers, and resentment of the Papal policy, which found expression in the Statute of Provisors, 1351; *cp.* ll. 144-8, 460-70. The pope in question was evidently Clement VI, who died on December 6, 1352.²

(vii) Questions of labour, wages, prices, dress, food, which called forth the Statute of Labourers, 1351, and various sumptuary and economic enactments of about this time. All these problems are present to the mind of the writer.

(viii) The reference at the end of the poem to some period when the truce with France was broken, after the taking of Guines in 1352. There was a formal truce from September 1351 to September 1352, and again from March 1353 to August 1353. The poem well fits into the months from September 1352 to March 1353.

(ix) Allusions to questions resulting from the Black

¹ This new issue was the outcome of the various attempts to keep out of the country the base foreign coins known as the Lussheburghs. The king in 1348 forbade their circulation in the city of London, and in 1351 not only ordered the new issue of gold pieces, but introduced also the new silver coinage of groats. The issue of coinage was the royal prerogative.

² See Note, ll. 461-5.

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Death of 1349. The reference to the greater cold that is to come (l. 252) seems to point to the rigorous winter from December 6, 1352, to March 1353. The 'great drought' (l. 312) may well refer to the drought recorded by contemporary historians. Knighton, under 1352, states as follows:—*'Aestas erat nimis sicca, adeo quod, pro defectu aquae, bestiae multae perierunt in suis pasturis et marisci devenerunt quod via patuit ubi non occurrit viam patuisse.'*

(x) The mention of profiteering in wheat, with the prophecy of Winner's approaching disaster by the fall of prices (ll. 368-74). This points to the year preceding Michaelmas 1353-Michaelmas 1354, when the prices of wheat were very low. In Michaelmas 1351 to Michaelmas 1352, throughout the year the prices were generally high; so too during the previous year. In the year from Michaelmas 1352-Michaelmas 1353, the price was falling, 'in part, at least, from the anticipation of an abundant harvest'; *cp. Rogers, Agriculture and Prices*, vol. i.

(xi) The direct reference by name in l. 317 to William de Shareshull,—*'pat saide I prikkede with powere his pese to distourbe'*. William de Shareshull was Justice of the King's Bench in 1333, and about the same time Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He was one of the judges dismissed and imprisoned in 1340 on some charge of maladministration made by the king on his return from the siege of Tournai; he was restored to office in 1342, and in two years' time was promoted to the position of Chief Baron of the Exchequer. In 1350 he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Foss, in his *Lives of the Judges*, states that at this time, 1350, he seems to have been more of a political and parliamentary, judge than a man of law, for no Chief Justice is so seldom mentioned in the Year Books'. He was Head of the Court of King's Bench from 1350 to 1357, and during that period

declared the causes of the meeting of Parliament from 1351 to 1355. 'Having pronounced a judgment against the Bishop of Ely for harbouring one of his people who had slain a man of Lady Wake's, he was excommunicated by the Pope in the last year of his judicial career for not appearing when summoned. He lived beyond 37 Edward III.'¹ It is interesting in connexion with the present poem to note that Shareshull is mentioned in *Monumenta Franciscana* as one of the nobles of the Order (*Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls Series, p. 541). It is noteworthy, as Dr. Henry Bradley has pointed out,² that Shareshull, in giving his reasons for the summoning of Parliament, in January 1352, referring to the 'wastefull military nobility, and the various bodies that were growing rich at its expense', made the very charge that *Wastoure* seems to challenge in this poem:—'Pur ceo que nostre Seignour le Roi ad entenduz que la Pees de son Roialme n'est pas bien garde come estre deveroit, et que les destourbours de la Pees et meintenours des quereles et des riotés faites en pais grevont trop a son poeple, sanz ceo que due punissement est fait de eux.'³

The cumulative value of all this evidence clearly points to the winter of 1352-3 as the date of composition, for the poet is evidently writing concerning events which are just happening, or are fresh in his memory. His poem is in fact a topical pamphlet in alliterative verse on the social and economic problems of the hour, as vivid as present day discussions on like problems. Indeed, nothing is more

¹ Foss, *Lives of the Judges*.

Dr. Neilson attempted to refer the poem to events connected with this incident which led to Shareshull's excommunication by the Pope (cp. *Athenæum*, August 3, 24, 1901). As I pointed out, this view rested on an erroneous reading of the poem (cp. *Athenæum*, August 24, Sept. 7, 1901). The lawyers and the friars and the Pope are all on the same side, namely Winner's.

² *Athenæum*, April 18, 1903.

³ ll. 317-18.

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striking than the parallel between the national questions affecting England in 1352 and in 1920.

General survey of the poem. In the conventional form of a dream-poem, preceded by a prelude, the poet deals with contemporary conditions. Once on a time wandering in the west, by the bank of a stream, in the heat of the day, he rests under a hawthorn, and towards night falls asleep and dreams a dream. He is in a meadow, surrounded by hills; in the woods on either side two armies are ready for battle. He prays for the coming of his prince, who is able to prevent the impending fight; and while praying, lo, on the crest of a cliff he beholds the royal pavilion, all adorned with English besants, each one bearing the motto, 'Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes,' *i. e.* *Honi soit qui mal pense*. Outside the pavilion stands the royal herald, his coat quartering the arms of England and France. Within the tent he catches sight of a king, whom he at once recognizes—King Edward III, 'with berry-brown beard', clad in kirtle and mantle adorned with devices of the Garter and emblems of the royal enthusiasm for hawking—King Edward in all his comeliness and pomp, who calls forth from the dreamer an outburst of loyal admiration. At the king's side stands a knight—unmistakably the Black Prince. The King bids him go forth and command the hosts to desist from the fray. 'I serve, Lord',¹ says the prince, 'while my life shall endure.' Clad in the arms betokening peace, without helmet, with an escutcheon at back and front showing the three ostrich feathers, the young prince, with a branch in his hand, still further in token of his peaceful message, betakes himself to the field, and addresses the combatants. He reminds them that the law of the land made it punishable as a felony to ride in warlike array, encroaching the royal power. But as they know not

¹ See Notes, I, 108.

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the law nor the king's prerogative; the king by royal grace will grant them his pardon. Surveying one army, he exclaims that such a motley throng he has never seen. He enumerates as follows,—folks of France, of Lorraine, of Lombardy, of Low Spain, 'wights of Westphalia' that are aye in war, many Hanseatic merchants of England and of Ireland. Lo, the banners of the Pope, the lawyers, the four orders of friars, wool-merchants, wine-merchants, and other merchant-men! And on the other side he sees brave men-at-arms, bold squires, bowmen many, ready to strike the blow, and to fight to the bitter end. He bids them withhold from their purpose, and state their case before the king. The leader from each side comes forward, greets the prince, and expresses readiness to submit to the king's decision. They say that they know the king well, for he has clad them both, and has fostered and fed them for five-and-twenty years. They journey on, and soon are received by the king, who welcomes them as 'servants both of his house',—the one leader is named Winner and the other Waster. They state their case before the king, Winner leading off, each maintaining, against the asseverations of the other, his special claims and merits. The king listens patiently; his verdict is significant. Winner is to pass forth by Paris to the Pope of Rome (that is, to Avignon), where the Cardinals will make much of him, will let him rest in silken sheets, and will feed him luxuriously; but he is to return home when the king again summons him. Waster is to dwell in Cheapside, and enjoy the dainty fare of the town, and provide for his needs by gulling rich simpletons who may chance to pass through. The king promises that Winner and Waster shall not come in one another's way. He bids Winner await him abroad when he again goes to war; he will then dub him knight, and give gifts of gold and silver to his lieges, and thence return with his knights to the Kirk of

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Cologne, where the Three Kings lie entombed. With this striking reference to Cologne the manuscript abruptly breaks off.

The debate between Winner and Waster touches so many historical and economic problems that I have deemed it advisable to append a modern English rendering of the poem. This may be useful for those who wish to deal with the subject-matter. It is difficult to epitomize adequately where every line is of interest by reason of argument, allusion, or vivid description.

The significance of the poem. *Wynnere and Wastoure* is a pamphlet of the day; and its main purpose is to set forth the outstanding problems of Edward III's reign, more especially between the dates of Crécy and Poitiers.

There was abundance of wealth,—on the one hand, the wealth of the merchants and others who amassed and hoarded as much as they could get; and on the other, the wealth of the thriftless, who were lavish, reckless, and self-indulgent, spending freely, selling their family estates, neglecting their duties as landlords, letting houses and yards go to rack and ruin, maintaining idle retainers, paying no heed to the morrow, spending a ransom of silver on a dinner. These latter were not merely gay young squires, but included also brave men of arms—the military class generally. Indeed, the position of this class in face of the rise of the new merchant class—the new rich, with all the power of wealth, is an outstanding feature of the poem, and perhaps the main point at issue.

In the ranks of Winner were not only these merchants and profiteers, but also the Pope, the lawyers, and the friars.

The condition of the mass of the people, owing to the pestilence and the wars, presented many problems. Prices

were high, and in March 1351 there was loud resentment against victuallers who forestalled the market. Labour was scarce, and those who had previously been in poor plight were now able to demand high wages, though legislation attempted to fix a scale. Women previously in service now disported themselves in the newest fashions, and wore mantles of rich fur.

Poverty, however, was widespread, and many found living well-nigh impossible. The poor were in a parlous state.

The king, whose brilliant achievements still made him secure in the admiration and loyalty of his subjects, nevertheless presented to the thoughtful the twofold aspect of his character in relation to these very problems. There was his love of pomp and magnificence, involving the heaviest expenditure—he was indeed Waster *par excellence*; and there were his consequent commercialism and dubious methods for satisfying his royal needs, efforts which found expression in his fiscal policy, his Free Trade policy, so that he might well also suggest Winner *par excellence*. His dealing with the foreign bankers and his relation to the Estate of Merchants were matter of public discussion at the time when our poet wrote. In London in particular there was resentment against the policy of 1351, when full liberty of trade was granted to aliens on equal terms with natives throughout the land. To this policy our poet evidently refers when he includes on the side of Winner the various nationalities, including the representatives of the Hanseatic guilds in England and in Ireland. It must be remembered that the foreign merchants were under the special protection of the king, and that the king derived profit from his prerogative; he was accordingly so free in granting privileges, that his subjects at times had to protest.¹

¹ Compare the repeated petitions to the king in Letter Book G of the

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The riotous living of the young nobles, and perhaps of the military generally, had become so serious that, at the opening of the January parliament of 1352, Lord Chief Justice Shreshull, whom the poet evidently considers a partisan of Winner, made direct reference to 'these disturbers of the peace'.

With striking appropriateness, the poet in his dream-picture delicately submits the problem of Economy and Waste to the king himself. It is significant that the king's emissary is none other than the Black Prince. His extravagance was notorious. 'Debt was the curse of the Prince's life, from the campaign of Crécy to the day of his death.'¹

The king has clad and fed and fostered Winner and Waster for five-and-twenty years; he knows them well, servants both of his household. One wonders whether the picture of the royal pavilion with its emblems of the Garter is but a poet's transformation of the royal palace at Windsor,² so closely associated with the splendours of the Order. The dreamer, a clear-headed observer of the times, though he gives abundant proof of loyalty and devotion to Edward of Windsor, yet, without bias and with seeming detachment, states in all its aspects the case of Winning and Wasting.

City of London against the Statute of 1351, by which 'merchant strangers were placed on the same footing as merchant denizens, contrary to the city's franchise', p. 15.

In *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, ed. George Unwin, University of Manchester Historical Series, 1918, there is a noteworthy chapter on the Estate of Merchants, 1336-65. The Merchants were so important that they were rapidly becoming a separate estate of the realm.

¹ R. P. Dunn-Pattison, *The Black Prince*, 1910. 'Thus it was that he whom the nation idolized for his bravery and generosity, who was regarded throughout Europe as the most humane and courteous warrior of the day, was loathed and execrated by his own tenants and peasantry' (p. 129.)

² One is reminded of Shakespeare's reference to the Garter and Windsor Castle in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, V. v. 59-77.

It is a pity that the concluding lines of the poem are lost, though they may not have added anything material so far as the argument is concerned.

The form of the poem. The debate-form which is used by the poet arises naturally from the theme. There may well have been some contemporary proverb in English, as there still is in German, to the effect that 'Winner must have Waster'. The poetical debate goes back to pre-Norman times; such poems as the old English colloquy between Soul and Body represent an old tradition, and our poet may well have known the dialogues between *Wine and Water*, *Summer and Winter*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, and the like. At the same time it should be noted that the records of this period bear evidence to the growing antagonism between the military and knightly class and the powerful 'new rich' class of merchants, and to Councils for discussing how best to unite their common interests for king and country.¹

The Banners. The poet of *Wynner and Wastoure* delights in the picturesque. His pictorial details are most striking, and nowhere more so than in his description of the banners of the various sections of Winner's army. These banners are, in my judgment, wholly fanciful; and I am convinced that any attempt to evolve exact heraldic data from the descriptions will prove to be futile.² I read them as follows:—

¹ Dr. George Neilson's attempt to identify Winner and Waster with Brennius and Belinus, and the king with their mother Convenna who reconciles them, should perhaps be mentioned. No such forced analogy need be sought for the source of the plot (*Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, 1902).

² Mr. Neilson has attempted to identify the heraldic devices. His identification of the six galleys 'each with a brace (or bend) and two buckles' with John of the Isles and with his wife Margaret de Vaus, 'whose grandfather bore a bend with two *cinquefoils* (?)', which perhaps were buckles', need not be discussed now that the galleys have become galoshes. And so likewise the other attempts at identification are by no

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(i) The Pope's banner is black, with three Papal Bulls,¹ white, a cord of hemp from each with a heavy lead seal. The growing feeling against papal influence in England is no doubt shown by the reference to the Bulls with their heavy leaden seals. The black has probably reference to Pope Clement's connexion with the Benedictine Order, who were the Black Monks.

(ii) The second banner has a bend of green with three white-haired heads with coifs. This is the banner of the lawyers. The three coifed heads are very simple indications, without any heraldic connotation. The bend of green has subtle significance as suggesting the extortions of the 'green wax', to which striking allusion is found in a political poem belonging in all probability to the early years of Edward III's reign; the 'green wax'—'viridis cera', la verte cere,—was one of the most resented forms of raising revenue:—

'zet comeþ budeles wiþ ful muche bost :

"Greyþe me seluer to þe grene wax :

þou art writen y my writ, þat þou wel wost" . . .

þus þe grene wax vs greueþ vnder gore,

þat me vs honteþ ase hound deþ þe hare ;'

The Song of the Husbandman ; MS. Harl. 2253.²

In a later poem, *God speed the Plough*, the husbandmen's cry is still 'the grene wex which greveth vs sore'.

means corroborated or made even plausible when tested. On the contrary, the text seems to me to prove the very opposite of Mr. Neilson's statement, that the poem 'conveys hints of a surprising variety of strifes and concords in fields both sacred and secular, Scottish and English' (*ibid.* pp. 137-8); see also *Athenæum*, June 13, 1903, and Dr. Henry Bradley's reply, *ibid.*, June 27, 1903.

I can find no reference anywhere in the poem to Scottish matters. Indeed, the omission is noteworthy, but can be explained from the severance of the two countries in matters commercial and economic.

¹ Cp. Notes, l. 144.

² *cp.* Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England*, pp. 151-2; K. Bédeker, *Harl. MS. 2253*, pp. 103-4.

The hearers of *Wynnere and Wastoure* well understood the allusion to the 'bend of green' (see notes, ll. 149, 314-18).

(iii) The banners of the Four Orders are equally fanciful.

(a) The banner of the Franciscans bears the strange device of six 'galags', an old form of the modern 'galosh', but used for a rather showy shoe. These 'galags', six in number, that is, three pairs, have each a brown brace or strap, with two buckles. My emendation of the manuscript, which has 'galeys', is confirmed by a statement in *Pierce Ploughmans' Crede*, ll. 298-9,

'Fraunces bad his breperen barfote to wenden;
Nou han pei bueled schon, for bleynynge of her heles.'

As regards the brown strap, the reference may possibly be merely to the brown leather of the strap; but on the other hand the allusion may be to the russet, dark brown habit worn by the Franciscans, *cp. Pierce Ploughman's Crede*, 719, 'pei vsen russet also, somme of þis freres'. The buckling of the galosh is emphasized in reference to this particular form of shoe, *cp. Canterbury Tales*, F 555, 'Ne were worthy unbokelen his galoche'.

The Galache, or Galoche, or Galegge seems to have been a sort of patten fastening to the foot by cross-latchets, though later used for a clownish shoe; *cp. Spenser's* 'Galage' in the *Shepherd's Calendar* for February and September. In the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, B. XVIII. 14, 'galoche ycouped' are mentioned side by side with gold spurs as knightly adornments. The banner emphasizes this aspect of their worldliness in contradistinction to their teaching that the end of the world was near, and all flesh would soon pass. After describing their banner, the Black Prince seems to add, as a sort of aside, that they seldom fight, and that they could only have been brought into the field by the chance of

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winning wealth. Some rich patron must have brought them thither.

I have little doubt that, under ordinary conditions, the banner of the Franciscans, who in France were called Cordeliers, would have shown a hempen cord, which was their characteristic, and from which they derived their French name. But the hempen cord had already been used by the poet in describing the Papal Bulls of the Pope's standard.

(b) The Midsummer Sun of the Dominicans' banner, that is, the Black Friars, hence 'bothe the brerdes of blake', well symbolizes Dominican pomp and pride.

(c) The third banner, evidently that of the Carmelite Order, the White Friars, though the manuscript is here again in error, is of white, with three boar's heads, alluding to the alleged gluttony of the Order. The author of *Pierce Ploughman's Crede* makes the Minorites apply to the Carmelites St. Paul's utterance in Phil. iii. 19, 'whose god is their belly', 'And glotony is her God', l. 92.

(d) The Augustine Friars have as their device black belts, alluding to their garb of black, with a leathern girdle, which they evidently used as a shaving-strop.

(iv) The other standards are those of the great merchants, especially those of wool and wine, the two great commodities on which so much of the trade of France and England at this time depended. No doubt the standard of the wool-merchants bore the wool-sacks, and that of the wine-merchants wine-tuns. The other merchant-marks are not indicated.

The Prologue and the Refrain. For students of literary history not the least important part of the poem is the striking Prologue, a sort of prelude to the vision, with its plaintive note concerning the neglect of poets by great lords.

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The note is re-echoed in the long-drawn wail of later English poets. It is recalled in Marlowe's

‘ Few great lords in virtuous deeds shall joy
But be surprised with every garish toy,’¹

and Spenser's October Eclogue, harking back to Theocritus and Mantuan, as the gloss explains. There is nothing quite like this prologue in mediaeval English poetry; it reminds one of the conventional prelude in the old Northern *Romance*, with its personal reflections and self-revelation. The times are bad, filial ties are weak, a western man in his old age cannot hope to see his son again, when once the lure of London holds him fast. The end of the world must be near, rough boys of no blood are wedding fair ladies, and the minstrel-poet, once welcomed, is now neglected, while the maker of jests, the mere buffoon, unable to compose three words, is honoured and made much of. Here, in what seems to be the oldest extant alliterative poem, is recorded the growing differentiation between poet and minstrel, to the detriment of the former. The introductory allusion to Brutus touches one of the great themes of alliterative poetry. The emphasis on the West well attests the juxtaposition of the West Midland and the East Midland, not only in respect of the genre and tone and spirit of the poetry of the two schools, but also, as the poet implies, by way of contrast between the simplicity of life in the less fashionable parts of England and the luxurious indulgence of the south, whereby London is clearly referred to. Indeed, the poet himself shows his intimate acquaintance with town. He knew Cheapside, the Poultry, Bread Street, &c., much in the same way as a later western man in the C-text of the Vision of *Piers Plowman* gives us glimpses of his experiences in London, where he states that he lived in Cornhill with his wife Kit and his daughter Calote.

¹ *Hero and Leander*, 1st sestiad.

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It was not therefore due to their ignorance of the more refined poetry of the East Midland, with London as its centre, that these western poets chose the more provincial form of verse.

A pleasing element in what is probably the earliest extant poem of the alliterative revival is its note of old minstrelsy at the end of each Fitt, suggestive of the recitative (if not lyrical) character of this fourteenth-century archaic poetry. The refrain, 'Fill in freshly and fast, for here a Fitt ends', calls up vividly the cheery hall, the rapt audience, the thirsty minstrel. Even so the Old English 'gleeman' and the Northern 'skald' paused for refreshment, and the same sort of traditional refrain may still be heard in the romantic ballad cycles of Iceland. The writer of *Wynnere and Wastoure* may well have attempted something less austere than a 'social problem' poem, or poetical homily, however picturesque, on the text *Vanitas Vanitatum*. Perhaps in his younger days he had been a maker of mirths; certainly *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* shows its author to have been well read in Romance. If only we knew more of the work that preceded these poems, much light would be cast, not only on the poet's development, but also on the baffling problems of the rise and development of English poetry of the alliterative school. As it is, we may, I think, safely place *Wynnere and Wastoure* chronologically at the head of the relics of this poetry preserved to us.

When *Wynnere and Wastoure* was a new poem, it seems to have stirred the heart of a young Western man, and perhaps to have kindled in him the latent fire of a prophet-poet, destined to deliver a weightier message to his fellow-countrymen. Ten years later than *Wynnere and Wastoure* the first version of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* set before all classes of the realm the evil conditions of the time, pointed to the corruptions in Church and State, and denounced even greater evils than those dealt with dramatically and dis-

passionately by our poet. The old man of *Wynner* and *Wastoure* inspired Langland, the prophet-poet of England. While *Wynner* and *Wastoure* has come down to our time in one manuscript, incomplete and most corrupt, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, with its accretions and revisions, alone of all alliterative poems escaped the obscurity of mere local fame, and in numerous manuscripts maintained the great message unimpaired during all the centuries. *The Vision of Piers Plowman* also deals with Winner and Waster, but Winner connotes mainly Meed, that is, bribery and corruption, while Waster is something worse than a mere spendthrift. Indeed, I am inclined to suggest that the Waster of Langland traces his descent directly to the Wastours, that is, the devastators and pillagers, who by old statute (5 Edward III) are named with Roberdesmen and draw-latches, who were guilty of manslaughters, felonies, and robberies. When Winner in the present poem uses the term 'Waster' derogatorily, he is extending the sense of 'Waster', that is, the one who wastes his substance, and who is far from wishing to be associated with thieves and robbers. Our poet bids Waster become the ideal squire, look after his estates and the right welfare of his people; Langland bids his Waster desist from living on his wits and learn some craft. Whether by Langland himself or a disciple, this lesson is well emphasized in the last version of the poem:—

‘He bad wastours go worche and wyne her sustinaunce
 Thorw som trewe trauail and no tyme spille,’
Piers Plowman, C. VI. 127–8.¹

¹ Professor T. A. Knott, in his article on the authorship of *Piers Plowman* (*Modern Philology*, Vol. 14, 1916–17), discusses some of the points at issue in respect of the use of the terms 'Winner' and 'Waster', and the bearing of the question on the controversy on the authorship of *Piers Plowman*. He gives at the outset an excellent summary of the literature of the controversy up to the date of his article.

HERE BEGYNNES A TRETYS
AND GOD SCHORTE REFREYTE
BY-TWIXE WYNNERE AND WASTOURE

[PROLOGUE.]

- S**YTHEN that Bretayne was biggede, and Bruyttus it
aughte,
Thurgh the takynge of 'Troye with tresone with-inn,
There hathe selcouthes bene sene in seere kynges tymes,
But neuer so many as nowe by the nyn[d]e dele.
5 For nowe alle es witt and wyl[l]e that we with delyn,
Wy[li] wordes and slee, and icheon wryeth othere;
†† And now es no frenchipe [o]n fere bot fayntnesse of hert;
Dare neuer no westren wy, while this werlde lasteth,
Send his sone south-warde to see ne to here,
10 That he ne schall holden by-hynde when he hore [for] eld es †.
For-thi sayde was a sawe of Salomon the wyse,—
It hyeghte harde appone honde, hope I no no~~per~~,—
When wawes waxen schall wilde, and walles bene down,
And hares appon herthe-stones schall hurele in hire fourme,
15 And eke boyes of [no] blode, with boste and with pryde,
Schall wedde ladyes in londe, and lede at hir † will,
Thene dredfull domesdaye it draweth neghe aftir.
Bot who-so sadly will see and the sothe telle,
Say it newly will neghe, or es neghe here.
20 Whylome were lordes in londe pat loued in thaire hertis
To here makers of myrthes, pat matirs couthe fynde,
†† Wyse wordes with-inn, pat wr[iten] were neuer
Ne redde in no romance pat euer renke herde.
Bot now a childe appon chere, with-owtten chyn-wedys,

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE :

25 pat neuer wroghte thurgh witt th[ree] wordes to-gedire,
 Fro he can jangle als a jaye, and japes [can] telle,
 He schall be leuede and louede and lett of a while
 Wele more þan þ^e man that ma[kes] † hym-seluen.
 Bot neuer þ^e lattere at the laste, when ledys bene knawen,
 30 Werke wisesse will bere who wirche kane beste.

[FITT I.]

BOT I schall tell yow a tale þat me by-tyde ones,
 Als I went in the weste, wandrynge myn one,
 Bi a bonke of a bourne, bryghte was the sone,
 Vndir a worthiliche wodde, by a wale medewe;
 35 Fele floures gan folde ther my fote steppede.
 I layde myn hede one ane hill, ane hawthorne be-syde:
 The throstills full throly they threpe[d] to-gedire;
 Hipped vp heghwalles fro heselis tyll othire;
 Bernacles with thayre billes one barks þay rounge;
 40 þ^e jay janglede one heghe, jarmede the foles;
 þ^e bourne full bremlly rane þ^e bankes by-twene;
 So ruyde were þ^e roughe stremys, and raughten so heghe,
 That it was neghande nyghte or I nappe myghte,
 For dyn of the depe watir, and dadillyng of fewllys.
 45 Bot as I laye at the laste, þan lowked myn eghne,
 And I was swythe in a sweuen sweped be-lyue.
 Me thoghte I was in the werlde, I ne wiste in whate ende,
 One a loueliche lande þat was ylike grene,
 þat laye loken by a lawe the lengthe of a myle.
 50 In aythere holte was ane here in hawberkes full bryghte,
 Harde hattes appon hedes and helmys with crestys,
 Brayden owte thaire baners, bown for to mete,
 Showen owte of the schawes, in schiltrons þay felle;
 And bot the lengthe of a launde thies l[e]des by-twene.
 55 And al[s I] prayed for the pese till the prynce come,

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

For he was worthiere in witt than any wy ells,
 For to ridde and to rede and to rewlyn the wrothe
 That aythere here appon h[ethe] had vn-till othere,
 At the creste of a clyffe a caban was rerede,
 60 Alle raylede with rede the rofe and the sydes,
 With Ynglysse besantes full brighte, betyn of golde,
 And ichone gayly vmby-gone with garters of inde,
 And iche a gartare of golde gereade full riche.
 Then were th[ies] wordes in þ^e webbe werped of he,
 65 Payntted of plunket, and poyntes by-twene,
 þat were fourmed full fayre appon fresche lettres,
 And alle was it one sawe, appon Ynglysse tonge,
 'Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes.'

70 **N**OW the kyng of this kythe, kepe hym oure Lorde!
 Vpon heghe one the holt ane hathell vp stondes,
 Wroghte als a wodwyse, alle in wrethyn lokkes,
 With ane helme one his hede, ane hatte appon lofte,
 And one heghe one þ^e hatte ane hat[e]full beste,
 A lighte lebarde and a longe, lokande full kene,
 75 Þarked alle of þalowe golde in full þape wyse.
 Bot that þat hillede the helme by-hynde in the nekke,
 Was casten full clenly in quarter[e]s foure—
 Two with flowres of Fraunce be-fore and be-hynde,
 And two o[per] of Ynglonde with sex [irous] bestes,
 80 Thre leberdes one lofte, and thre on-lowe vndir;
 At iche a cornere a knoppe of full clene perle,
 Tasselde of tuly silke, tuttynge out fayre.
 And by þ^e cabane I knewe the k[nyght]e that I see,
 And thoghte to wiete, or I went, wondres ynewe.
 85 And als I waytted with-inn I was warre sone
 Of a comliche kyng crowned with golde,
 Sett one a silken bynche, with septure in honde,

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE :

- One of the louelyeste ledis, who-so loueth hym in hert,
That euer segge vnder sonn sawe with his eghne.
- 90 This kyng was comliche clade in kirtill and mantill,
Bery-brown as † his berde, brouderde with fewlys,
Fawkons of fyne golde, flakerande with wynges,
And ichone bare in ble, blewe als me thoghte,
A grete gartare of ynde g[er]ede ful riche].
- 95 Full gayly was that grete lorde girde in the myddis,
A brighte belte of ble, broudirde with fewles,
With drakes & with dukkes, daderande þam semede,
For ferdnes of fawcons fete, lesse fawked þay were.
And euer I sayd to my-selfe, 'full selly me thyнке
- 100 Bot if this renke to the reuere ryde vmbestounde'.
The kyng biddith a beryn by hym þat stondesth,
One of the ferlyeste frekes, þat faylede hym neuer :—
'Thynke I dubbede the knyghte with dynttis to dele!
Wende wightly thy waye my willes to kythe.
- 105 Go bidd þou zondere bolde batell þat one þ^e bent houes,
That they neuer neghe nerre to-gedirs;
For if thay strike one stroke, stynte þay ne thynken.'
[Y serue,] lorde,' said þ^e lede, 'while my life dures.'
He dothe hym down one þ^e bonke, & dwellys a while,
- 110 Whils he busked and bown was one his beste wyse.
He laped his legges in yren to the lawe bones,
With pysayne & with pawnce polischede full clene,
With brases of broun stele brauden full thikke,
With plates buklede at þ^e bakke þ^e body to zeme,
- 115 With a jupown full juste, joynede by the sydes :
A brod chechun at þ^e bakke; þ^e breste had anoper;
Thre wynges in-with, wroghte in the kynde,
Vmbygon with a gold wyre. When I þat gome knewe,
What, he was zongeste of zeris, and zapeste of witt,
- 120 þat any wy in this werlde wiste of his age!

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

He brake a braunche in his hande, & [brawndeschet] it swythe,
Trynes one a grete trotte, & takes his waye
There bothe thies ferdes folke in the felde houes.

- SAYD, 'loo, the kyng of this kyth, þer kepe hym oure Lorde !
125 Send[es] † [bodworde] by me, als hym beste lyketh,
That no beryn be so bolde, one bothe his two eghne,
Ones to strike one stroke, n[e] stirre no † nerre
To lede rowte in his rewme, so ryall to thynke
Pertly with † power[e] his pese to disturbe.
130 For this es the vsage here and euer schall worthe,—
If any beryn be so bolde with banere for to ryde
With-inn þ^e [kydde] kyngdome, bot the kynge one,
That he schall losse the londe and his lyfe aftir.
Bot sen ȝe knowe noghte this kythe ne the kynge[s] ry[t]he,
135 He will forgiffe ȝow this gilt of his grace one.
Full wyde hafe I walked wyes amonges,
Bot sawe I neuer siche a syghte, segge[s], with myn eghne ;
For here es alle þ^e folke of Fraunce ferdede be-syde,
Of Lorreyne, of Lumbardye, and of Lawe Spayne ;
140 Wyes of Westwale, þat in were duellen ;
Of Ynglonde, of Yrlonde, Estirlynges full many,
þat are stuffede in stele, strokes to dele.
And ȝondere a banere of blake þat one þ^e bent houes,
With thre bulles † of ble white brouden with-inn,
145 And iche one hase of henppe hynged a corde,
Selede with a sade lede ; I say als me thynkes,—
That hede es of holy kirke, I hope he be there,
Alle ferse to the fichte with the folke þat he ledis.
Anoper banere es vp-brayde with a bende of grene,
150 With thre hedis white-herede with howes one lofte,
Croked full craftly, and kembid in the nekke :
Thies are ledis of this londe þat schold oure lawes ȝeme,

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE:

That thynken to dele this daye with dynttis full many.
 I holde hym bot a fole þat fightis whils flyttynge may helpe,
 155 When he hase founden his frende þat fayled hym neuer.

THE thirde banere one bent es of blee whitte,
 With sexe gale[g]s, I see, of sable with-inn,
 And iche one has a brown brase with bokel[e]s twayne.
 Thies are Sayn Franceys folke, þat sayen alle schall fey worthe;
 160 They aren so ferse and so fresche, þay feghtyn bot seldom.
 I wote wele for wynnynge thay wentten fro home;
 His purse weggethe full wele that wanne thaym all hedire.

THE fourte banere one the bent [es] brayde appon lofte,
 With bothe the brerdes of blake, a bal[l]e in the myddes,
 165 Reghte sicke as the sone es in the someris tyde,
 When † moste [es] † þ^e ma[z]e one Missomer Euen.
 Th[ynkes] Domyneke this daye with dynttis to dele;
 With many a blesenande beryn his banere es stuffede.
 And sythen the pope es so priste thies prechours to helpe,
 170 And Fraunceys with his folke es forced besyde,
 And alle the ledis of the lande ledith thurgh witt,
 There es no man appon molde to machen þaym agayne,
 Ne gete no grace appon grounde, vndir God hym-seluen.

AND ȝitt es the fyfte appon þ^e folde þ^e faireste of þam alle,—
 175 A brighte banere of blee whitte with three bore-hedis;
 †† Be any crafte þat I kan Carnes thaym semy[th],
 For þay are the [ledes] þat louen oure Lady to serue.
 If I scholde say þ^e sothe, it semys no nothire
 Bot þat the freris with othere folke schall þ^e felde wynn.

180 THE sexte es of sendell, and so are þay alle,
 Whitte als the whalles bone, who-so the sothe tellys,

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

With beltys of blake, boeled to-gedir,
 The poyntes pared off rownde, þ^e pendant[s] a-waye,
 And alle the lethire appon lofte þat one-lowe hengeþ
 185 Schynethe † for scharpynyng of the schauynge iren.
 †† The ordire of þ^e Austyns, for oughte þat I wene,
 For by the blussche of the belte the banere I kn[o]we!
 And othere synes I see †, sett appon lofte,
 Some † wisse of wolles, and some of wyne tounnes,
 190 [And oper] of merchandes merke[s], so many and so thikke
 That I ne wote in my witt, for alle this werlde riche,
 Whatt segge vnder the sonne can the sowme rekken.
 And sekere one þat other syde are sadde men of armes,
 Bolde sqwyeres of blode, bow[e]men many,
 195 þat, if thay strike one stroke, stynt þay ne thyngen
 Till owthir here appon hethe be hewen to dethe.

FOR-THI I bid þow bothe that thaym broghte hedir †
 That þe wend with me, are any wrake falle,
 To oure comely kyng that this kythe owethe;
 200 And, fro he wiete wittirly where þ^e wronge ristyth,
 Thare nowthir wy † be wrothe to wirche als he d[em]eth'.
 OF ayther rowte ther rode owte a renke, als me thoghte,
 Knyghtis full comly one coursers attyred,
 And sayden, 'Sir sandisman, sele the be-tyde!
 205 Well knowe we the kyng; he clothes vs bothe,
 And hase vs fosterde and fedde this fyve and twenty wyntere.
 Now fare þou by-fore, and we schall folowe aftire.'
 And now are þaire brydells vp-brayde, and [thay] bown one
 þaire wayes.
 Thay lighten down at þ^e launde, and leue[n] thaire stedis,
 210 Kayren vp at the clyffe, and one knees fallyn.
 The kynge henttis [þam] by þ^e handes, & hetys þam to ryse,
 And sayde, 'welcome †, heres, as hyne of oure house bothen.'

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE :

- The kyng waytted one wyde, and the wyne aske[de] ;
 Beryns broghte it anone in bolles of siluere.
 215 Me thoughte I sowpped so sadly it sowede † bothe myn eghne.
 And he þat wilnes of this werke to wete any forthire,
 Full freschely and faste, for here a fitt endes.

[FITT II.]

- B**OT than kerpede the kyng, sayd, 'kythe what 3e hatten,
 And whi the hates aren so hote 3oure hertis by-twene.
 220 If I schall deme 3ow this day, dothe me to here.'
 'Now certys, lorde,' sayde þat one, 'the sothe for to telle,
 I hatt Wynnere, a wy that alle this werlde helpis,
 For I l[e]des cane lere, thurgh ledyng of witt.
 Thoo þat spedfully will spare, and spende not to grete,
 225 Lyve appon littill-whattes, I lufe h[e]m the bettir ;
 Witt wiendes me with, and wysses me faire ;
 Aye when [I] gadir my gudes, than glades myn hert.
 Bot this felle false thefe þat by-fore 3owe standes
 Thyntes to strike or he styntt, and stroye me for euer.
 230 Alle þat I wynn thurgh witt he wastes thurgh pryde ;
 I gedir, I glene, and he lattys goo sone ;
 I pryke and I pryne, and he the purse opynes.
 Why hase this cayteffe no care how men corne sellen ?
 His londes liggen alle ley, his lomes aren solde,
 235 Downn bene his dowfelowes, drye bene his poles ;
 The deuyll wounder † the wele he weldys at home,
 Bot hungere and heghe ho[r]ses and howndes full kene !
 Safe a sparthe and a spere sparrede in ane hyrne,
 A bronde at his bede-hede, biddes he no noþer
 240 Bot a cuttede capill to cayre with to his frendes.
 Then will he boste with his brande, & braundesche hym ofte,
 This wikkede weryed thefe, that wastoure men calles,
 That, if he life may longe, this lande will he stroye.

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

For-thi deme vs this daye, for Drightyns loue in heuen,
 245 To fighte furthe with oure folke to owthire fey worthe.'

'**3**EE, wynnere,' quod wastoure, 'thi wordes are hye;
 Bot I schall tell the a tale that tene schall the better.
 When thou haste waltered and went and wakede alle þ^o
 nyghte,
 And iche a wy in this werlde that wonnes the abowte,
 250 And hase werpede thy wyde howses full of wolle sakkis,—
 The bemys benden at the rofe, sicke bakone there hynges,
 Stuffed are sterlynges vndere stelen bowndes,—
 What scholde worthe of that wele, if no waste come?
 Some [scholde] rote, some ruste, some raton[e]s fede.
 255 Let be thy cramyng of thi kystes, for Cristis lufe of heuen!
 Late the peple and the pore hafe parte of thi siluere;
 For if thou wydwhare scholde walke, and waytten the sothe,
 Thou scholdeste reme for rewthe, in sicke ryfe bene the pore.
 For, and thou lengare thus lyfe, leue thou no noþer,
 260 Thou schall be hanged in helle for that thou here spareste;
 For sicke a synn haste þou solde thi soule in-to helle,
 And there es euer wellande woo, worlde with-owtten ende.'

'**L**ATE be thi worde, wastoure,' quod wynnere the riche.
 'Thou melleste of a mater, tho[u] madiste it thi-seluen,
 265 With thi sturte and thi stryffe thou stoyeste vp my gudes;
 In [wraxl]inge and in wakyng in wyntt[e]res nyghttis,
 In owtrage, in vnthrifte, in angarte [of] pryde.
 There es no wele in this werlde to wasschen thyn handes
 That ne es gyffen and grounden are þou it getyn haue.
 270 Thou ledis renkes in thy rowte wele ry[e]hely attyrede;
 Some hafe girdills of golde, þat more gude coste
 Than alle þ^o faire fre londe that 3e byfore haden.

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE :

3e folowe noghte 3oure fadirs þat fosterde 3ow alle
 A kynde herueste to cache, and cornes to wynn,
 275 For þ^e colde wyntter and þ^e kene with [cleng]and[e] frostes,
 Sythen dropeles drye in the dede monethe.
 And thou wolle [te] to the tauerne, by-fore þ^e tounne-hede,
 Iche beryne redy withe a bolle to blerren thyn eghne,
 Hete the whatte thou haue schalte, and whatt thyn hert lykes,
 280 Wyfe, wedowe, or wenche, þat wonnes there aboute.
 Then es there bott "fille in" & "feche forthe", Florence to
 schewe,
 "Wee-hee", and "worthe vp", wordes ynewe.
 Bot when this wele es a-waye, the wyne moste be payede
 fore :
 Than lympis 3owe weddis to laye, or 3oure londe selle.
 285 For siche wikked werkes, wery the oure Lorde!
 And for-thi God laughte that he louede, and leuede þat oper,
 Iche freke one felde ogh þ^e ferdere be to wirche.
 Teche thy men for to tille and ty[n]en thyn feldes;
 Rayse vp thi rent-howses, ryme vp thi 3erdes,
 290 Owthere hafe as þou haste done, and hope aftir werse—
 þat es firste þ^e faylynge of fode, and than the fire aftir,
 To brene the alle at a birre, for thi bale dedis :
 The more colde es to come, als me a clerke tolde.'

' 3EE, wynnere,' quod wastoure, 'thi wordes are vayne :
 295 With oure festes and oure fare we feden the pore;
 It es plesynge to the Prynce þat paradyse wroghte;
 When Cristes peple hath parte hym payes alle the better
 Then here ben hodorde and hidde and happede in cofers,
 That it no sonn may see thurgh seuen wyntter ones;
 300 Owthir it freres feche, when thou fey worthes,
 To payntten with thaire pelers, or pergett with thaire walles.
 Thi sone and thi sektours, ichone se[w]les othere;

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

Maken dale aftir thi daye, for thou durste neuer
 Mawngery ne myndale, ne neuer myrthe louediste.
 305 A dale aftir thi daye dose the no mare
 pan a lighte lanterne late appone nyghte,
 When it es borne at thi bakke, beryn, be my trouthe.
 Now wolde God that it were als I wisse couthe,
 That thou, wynnere, thou wriche, and wanhope, thi brothir,
 310 And eke ymbryne dayes, and euenes of sayntes,
 The Frydaye and his fere one the ferrere syde,
 Were drowneded in the depe see there neuer droghte come,
 And dedly synn for thayre dede were endityde with twelue;
 And thies beryns one the bynches, with [biggins] one lofte
 315 That bene knowen and kydde for clerkes of the beste,
 Als gude als Arestotle, or Austyn the wyse,
 That alle schent were those schalkes, and Scharshull itwiste,†
 pat saide I prikkede with powere his pese to distourbe!
 For-thi, comely kynge, that oure case heris,
 320 Late vs swythe with oure swerdes swyngen to-gedirs;
 For now I se it es †sothe pat sayde es full zore,—
 The richere of ranke wele, the rathere will drede:
 The more hauande pat he hathe, the more of hert feble.'

BOT than this wrechede wynnere full wrothely he lukes,
 325 B Sayse, 'þis es spedles speche to speken thies wordes!
 Loo, th[ou] w[eryed] wastoure, that wyde-whare es knawenn,
 Ne es nothir kaysser, ne kynge, ne knyghte pat the folowes,
 Barone, ne bachelere, ne beryn that thou loueste,
 Bot foure felawes or fyve, that the fayth ow[es];
 330 And [þou] schall dighte thaym to dyne with dayntethes so many
 pat iche a wy in this werlde may wepyn for sorowe.
 The bores hede schall be broghte with [bayes] appon lofte,
 Buk-tayles full brode in brothes there be-syde,
 Venyson with the frumentes, and fesanttes full riche,

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE:

- 335 Baken mete ther-by one the burde sett,
 Chewettes of choppede flesche, charbiande fewlis,
 And iche a segge þat I see has sexe mens doke.
 If this were nedles note, anothir comes aftir,—
 Roste with the riche sewes, and the ryalle spyces,
- 340 Kiddes cleuen by þ^e rigge, quarter[e]d swannes,
 Tartes of ten ynche, þat tenys myn hert
 To see þ^e borde ouer-brade with blasande disches,
 Als it were a rayled rode with rynges and stones.
 The thirde mese to me were meruelle to rekken,
- 345 For alle es Martynmesse mete þat I with moste dele,
 Noghte bot worttes with the flesche, with-owt wilde fowle,
 Saue ane hene to hym that the howse owethe;
 And [3]e will haue birdes bowenn one a broche riche,
 Barnakes and buturs and many billed snyppes,
- 350 Larkes and lyngwhittes, lapped in sogoure,
 Wodcokkes and wodwales, full wellande hote,
 Teeles and titmoyses, to take what [3owe] lykes;
 [Caudel]s of conynges, & custadis swete,
 [Daryo]ls & dische-metis, þat ful dere coste,
- 355 [Mawme]ne þat men clepen, 3our mawes to fill,
 [Twelue] mese at a merke, by-twen twa men,
 [Thog]he bot brynneth for bale 3our bowells with-in.
 [Me ten]yth at 3our trompers, þay tounen so heghe
 [þat iche] a gome in þe gate goullyng may here:
- 360 [þan] wil þay say to þam-selſe, as þay samen ryden,
 3e haue no myster of þ^e helpe of þ^e heuen kyng.
 þus are 3e scorned by skylle, & scathed † þeraftir,
 þat rechen for a repaste a rawnsom of siluer.
 Bot one[s] I herd in a haule of a herdman's tong,—
- 365 Better were meles many þan a mery nyghte.
 And he þat wilnes of þis werke for to wete forthe[r],
 Full freschely & faste, for here a fit endes.

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

FITT III.

- ‘**3**EE, wynnere,’ quod wastour, ‘I wote well my-seluen
 What sall lympe of þ^e lede, *with*in [a lite] 3eris.
 370 Th[en] þ^e pure † plente of corne þat þ^e peple sowes,
 þat God will graunte, of his grace, to growe on þ^e erthe,
 Ay to appaire þ^e pris, [þat it] passe nott to hye,
 Schal make þ^e to waxe wod for wanhope *in* erthe,
 To hope aftir an harde 3ere, to honge þⁱ-seluen.
 375 Woldeste þou hafe lordis to lyfe as laddes on fote?
 Prelates als prestes þat þ^e parischen 3emes?
 Prowde marchandes of pris, as pedders *in* towns?
 Late lordes lyfe als þam liste, laddes as þam falles,—
 pay þ^e bacon & beefe, pay botours & swannes,
 380 pay þ^e roughe of þ^e rye, pay þ^e rede whete,
 pay þ^e grewell gray, & pay þ^e gude sewes;
 & þen may þ^e peple hafe parte *in* pouert þat standes,
 Sum gud morsell of mete to mend *with* þair chere.
 If fewlis flye schold forthe, & fongen be neuer,
 385 & wild bestis *in* þ^e wodde wone al þaire lyue,
 & fisches flete *in* þ^e flode, & ichone [fr]ete oþer,
 Ane henne at ane halpeny by halfe 3eris ende,
 Schold not a ladde be *in* londe a lorde for to serue.
 þis wate þou full wele witterly þⁱ-seluen,
 390 Who so wele schal wyn, a wastour moste he fynde,
 For if it greues one gome, it gladdes anoþer.’

- ‘**N**OW,’ quod wyunner to wastour, ‘me wondirs *in* hert
 Of thies poure penyles men þat peloure will by,
 Sadills of sendale, *with* sercles full riche.
 395 Lesse [þat] 3e wrethe 3our wifes, þaire willes to folowe,
 3e sellyn wodd aftir wodde *in* a wale tyme,
 Bothe þ^e oke & þ^e assche & all þat þer growes;

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE :

- p^e spyres & p^e zonge sprynge ze spare to *your* children
 & sayne God wil grant it his grace to grow at p^e last[e],
 400 For to s[chadewe] *your* sonen: bot p^e schame es *your* ownn.
 Nedeles saue ze p^e soyle, for sell it ze thynken.
Your forfadirs were fayne, when any frende come,
 For to schake to p^e schawe, & schewe hym p^e estres,
 In iche holt þat þay had ane hare for to fynde,
 405 Bryng to p^e brod[e] lande bukkes ynewe,
 To lache & to late goo, to lightten þaire hertis.
 Now es it sett & solde, my sorowe es p^e more,
 Waste[d] alle wilfully, *your* wyfes to paye.
 That are had lordes in londe & ladyes riche,
 410 Now are þay nysottes of p^e new gett, so nysely attyred,
 With [si]de slabbande sleues, sleght to p^e grounde,
 Ourlede all vmbtourne with ermyn aboute,
 þat † as harde [e]s, I hope, to handil in p^e derne,
 Als a cely symple wenche þat neuer silke wroghte.
 415 Bot who-so [lykes] luke † on hir †, oure lady of heuen,
 How scho fled for ferd ferre out of hir kythe,
 Appon ane amblande asse, with-owtten more pride,
 Safe a barne in hir barme, & a broken heltre
 þat Joseph held in hys hande, þat hend for to zeme.
 420 All-þose scho walt al þis werlde, hir w[e]des wer pore;
 For to gyf ensample of siche, for to schewe oþer
 †To leue pompe & pride, þat pouerte [e]schewes.'

- THAN þ[is] wastour wrothly [werped] vp his eghne,
 & said, 'þou wynnere, þou wriche, me wondirs in hert
 425 What hafe oure clothes coste p^e, caytes, to by,
 þat þou schal birdes vp-brayd of þaire bright wedis,
 Sythen þat we vouche safe þat p^e siluer payen.
 It lyes wele for a lede his leman to fynde,
 Aftir hir faire chere to forthir hir herte.

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

- 430 Then will scho loue hym lelely as hir lyfe one,
 Make hym bolde & bown with brandes to smytte,
 To schonn schenchipe & schame, per schalkes ere gadird;
 & if my peple ben prode, me payes alle þ^e better
 To see þam faire & free to-fore with myn eghne;
- 435 & 3e negardes, appon nyghte, nappe † 3e † [neuer] so harde,
 R[axill]en at 3our r[outt]yng, raysen 3our hurd[i]es;
 Beden[e] † 3e wayte one þ^e wedir, þen wery 3e þ^e while,
 þat 3e [h]ade hightilde vp 3our houses, & 3our hyne [a]rayed.
 For-thi, wynnere, with wronge þou wastes þⁱ tyme;
- 440 For gode day ne glade getys þou neuer.
 þ^e deuyll at þⁱ dede-day schal delyn þⁱ gudis,
 þ^e þou woldest þat it w[a]re, wyn þay it neuer;
 þⁱ skathill sectours schal seuer þam aboute,
 & þou hafe helle full hotte for þat þou here saued.
- 445 þou tast [no] tent one a tale þat tolde was full 3ore:—
 I hold hym madde þat mournes his mak[ande] † to wyn:
 Hent hi[t] þat hi[t] haf schal, & hold hi[t] his while;
 Take þ^e coppe as it comes, þ^e case as it falles;
 For who-so lyfe may lengeste lympe to feche
- 450 Woodd þat he waste schall, to warmen his helys,
 Ferrere þan his fadir dide by fyvetene myle.
 Now kan I carpe no more; bot, Sir Kyng, by þⁱ trouthe,
 Deme vs where we duell schall: me thynke þ^e day hyes.
 3it harde sore es myn [herte], & harmes me more
- 455 Euer to see in my syghte þat I in soule hate.'

THE kyng louely lokes on þ^e ledis twayne,
 Says, 'blynnes, beryns, of 3our brethe and of 3oure bro[p]e
 worde[s];

And I schal deme 3ow this day where 3^e duelle schall,
 Aythere lede in a lond per he es loued moste.

- 460 Wende, wynnere, þⁱ waye ouer þ^e wale stremys,

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE :

- Passe forthe by Paris to þ^e Pope of Rome ;
 þ^e cardynalls ken þ^e wele, will kepe þ^e ful faire,
 & make þⁱ sydes in silken schetys to lygge,
 & fede þ^e & foster þ^e & forthir thyn hert,
 465 As leefe to worthen wode as þ^e to wrethe ones.
 Bot loke, lede, be þⁱ lyfe, when I lettres sende,
 þat þou hy þ^e to me home on horse or one fote ;
 And when I knowe þou will co[me], he schall cayre vttire,
 And lenge with anoper lede, til þou þⁱ lefe [lache] ;
 470 For þose þou bide in þis burgh to þⁱ be[ryinge-day],
 With hym [falles] þ^e neuer a fote for [to streche].
 And thou, wastoure, I will þat þou won[ne þer euer]
 þer moste waste es of wele & wyng[es vn]till.
 Chese þ^e forthe in-to þ^e chepe, a chambre þou rere,
 475 Loke þⁱ wyndowe be wyde, & wayte þ^e aboute,
 Where any ber[ande] † pote[ner] thurgh þ^e burgh passe ;
 Teche hym to þ^e tonne till he tayte worthe ;
 Doo hym drynk al nyȝte þat he dry be at morow,
 Sythen ken hym to the crete to comforth his vaynes,
 480 Brynge hym to Bred Strete, bikken [with] þⁱ fynger,
 Schew hym of fatt chepe scholdirs ynewe,
 Hotte for þ^e hungry, a hen oper twayne,
 Sett hym softe one a sete, & sythen send after,
 Bryng out of þ^e burgh þ^e best þou may fynde,
 485 & luke thi knave hafe a knoke bot he þ^e clothe spred ;
 Bot late hym paye or he passe, & pik hym so clene
 þat fynd a peny in his purse, & put owte his eghe.
 When þat es drouken & don, duell þer no longer,
 Bot teche hym owt of the townn, to trotte affir more
 490 Then passe to þ^e Pultrie, þ^e peple þ^e knowes,
 And ken wele þⁱ katour to knawen þⁱ fode,
 The herons, þ^e hasteletez, þ^e henne[s] wele serue[d],
 þ^e pertrikes, þ^e plouers, þ^e oper pulled byrddes,

A GOOD SHORT REFREYTE

þ^o albus, þ^[e] o[sul]les, þ^o egretes dere;
 495 þ^o more þ^u wastis þⁱ wele, þ^o better þ^o wyunner lykes.
 & wayte to me, þou wyunner, if þou wilt wele chese,
 When I wende appon werre my wyes to lede;
 For at þ^o proude pale[y]s of Parys þ^o riche
 I thynk to do it *in* ded, & dub þ^o to knyghte,
 500 & giff giftes full grete of golde & of s[iluer],
 To ledis of my legyance þat lufen me *in* hert,
 & sythen kayren as I come, *with* knyghtis þat me foloen,
 To þ^o kirke of Colayne þer þ^o kynges ligges

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WINNER AND WASTER

MODERNIZED VERSION

HERE BEGINS A DISCOURSE AND GOOD SHORT
DEBATE BETWEEN WINNER AND WASTER

[PROLOGUE.]

- SINCE Britain was builded, and Brutus possessed it,
Through the taking of Troy by treason within,
Strange sights have been seen, in sundry reigns,
But ne'er so many as now by the ninth part;
5 For all is Wit and Will wherewith we now deal,
Wily words and sly, and each bewrays the other.
In absence is no fondness, but faintness of heart;
Dare no western wight, while the world lasteth,
Send southward his son, to see or to hear,
10 But he shall hold behind, when hoar is his sire.
Wherefore said was a saw of Solomon the wise,—
It hieth hard at hand—how else can I trow!—
When waves shall wax wild, and walls be down,
And hares upon hearth-stones shall hurkle in their form,
15 And when boys of no blood, with boast and with pride,
Shall wed ladies a-land, and lead them at will,
Then dreadful Doomsday shall draw nigh thereafter.
But who soberly will see, and the sooth will tell,
Must say 'twill come soon, or surely is here.
20 Whilom were lords in the land that loved in their hearts
To hear makers of mirth, who matter could find
Set in wisest words, never written before,
Nor in any romance read ever or heard;
But now a child in cheer, without chin-weeds,
25 Who ne'er wrought through wit three words together,
Soon as he can jangle as a jay, and japes can tell,

WINNER AND WASTER :

Shall be believed and loved and lauded a-while
Well more than the man who himself maketh song.

But at last, ne'ertheless, when all leally are known,
30 Work shall bear witness who worketh the best.

FITT I.

BUT I shall tell you a tale that me betid once,
As I went in the west, wand'ring alone,
Along the bank of a brook,—bright was the sun,—
'Neath a wondrous wood, by a winsome mead ;
35 Many flowers enfolded where my foot stepped.
I laid my head on a hill, a hawthorn beside ;
The throstles full throly¹ threped² together ;
Highwales³ halloo'd up from hazels to others ;
Barnacles with their bills on barks rang out ;
40 Loud jangled the jay, 'mid the joy of the birds ;
The brook full bravely ran the banks between.
So raged the rough streams, and reached so high,
It was nearing night ere nap might I have,
For the din of the deep water and the daddering⁴ of birds :
45 But at last, as I lay, lock'd were mine eyes ;
And swiftly in a dream swept was I thence.
Methought I was in the world, wist I not where,
On a lovely lawn, all alike green,
Immured with mountains a mile round about.
50 In either holt was a host, in hawberks full bright,
Hard hats on their heads, and helmets with crests ;
Unfurl'd were their banners, they busk'd them to meet ;
Shoving from the shaws, into squadrons they fell ;
And but the length of a lawn these liegemen between.
55 And as I pray'd for the peace till the prince should come,
For he was worthier in wit than any wight else,

¹ keenly.

² debated, argued.

³ woodpeckers.

⁴ chattering.

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

To rid¹ and to rede,² and to rule the wrath
 That either host on the heath had to the other,
 Lo, at the crest of a cliff a cabin was reared,
 60 All arrayed with red the roof and the sides,
 With English besants full bright, embossed in gold,
 Girdled gaily about with garters of Ind;
 With golden gear was each garter enriched;
 And these words in the web worked were above,
 65 Painted in plunket,³ with points put between,
 Formèd full fair, in fresh-hued letters;
 And all was it one saw in the English tongue,—
 ‘Hething⁴ have the hathel⁵ that any harm thinketh!’

Now the King of this country, keep him our Lord!
 70 High on the woodland a warrior up-stands,
 Wrought as a wild man, all in wreathed⁶ locks,
 With a helm on his head, a hat aloft,
 And on high on the hat a hateful beast,
 A light leopard and long, looking full keen,
 75 Graven of yellow gold in goodliest wise.
 But that which hid the helm behind in the neck
 Was cast full cleanly in quarters four,—
 Two with flowers of France, the first and the hindmost,
 And eke two of England, with six angry beasts,
 80 Three leopards a-loft, three below, quarter’d third;
 At each corner a cluster of clearest pearl,
 Silk tassels, tile-red, tutting⁷ out fair.
 And by the cabin I knew the knight that I saw,
 And thought to wit, ere I went, wonders enow.
 85 And as I watched within I was ware anon
 Of a comly king crownèd with gold,

¹ to part combatants.

² to advise.

³ light blue.

⁴ scorn, ‘honi’.

⁵ man.

⁶ curled.

⁷ protruding.

WINNER AND WASTER :

- On silken bench seated, with sceptre¹ in hand,—
 One of the loveliest lords, whose loveth him in heart,
 That subject 'neath sun ever saw with his eyes.
- 90 This king was comelily clad in kirtle and mantle,
 Berry-brown as his beard, broidered with birds,
 Falcons of fine gold flapping their wings,
 Each bearing emblazon'd, blue as me thought,
 A great garter of Ind, garnish'd full richly,
- 95 Gaily was that great lord girt in the middle,
 A belt bright of hue, broidered with birds,
 With drakes and with ducks, doddering that seemed.
 In fear of the falcons' feet, lest fast they were seized.
 And I said to myself, ' Full strange would it seem
- 100 If this lord to the river ride not betimes.'
 The king biddeth a baron by him that standeth,
 One foremost in fame, that failèd him never;—
 ' Bethink, I dubbed thee knight with dints¹ to deal.
 Wend quickly thy way my will to make known!
- 105 Go, bid yon bold hosts of battle that on battlefield bide.
 That they never come nigh any nearer each other;
 For, strike they one stroke, to stint think they never.'
 ' I serve, lord,' said that liege, ' while my life shall endure.'
 He doth him down on the bank, and dwelleth a time.
- 110 Till he busk'd was and bound in the bravest array.
 He lapped his legs in iron to the lower bones;
 With pisane² and with pauneer,³ polish'd full bright;
 With braces of burnish'd steel, closely braided with rings;
 With plates buckled behind, the body to ward;
- 115 With a well-fitting jupon,⁴ joined at the sides;
 A broad seutecheon at the back; the breast had another;

¹ blows.

² armour for the chest and neck.

³ armour for the lower part of the body.

⁴ a short doublet.

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

Three wings within, truly wrought after kind,
Engirt with gold wire. When that warrior I knew,
Lo, he was youngest of years and yarest of wit
120 That any wight in this world wist of his age.
He brake a branch in his hand, and boldly it brandish'd;
Treads at a great trot, and takes his way
Where these folk at feud on the field abide.

He said, 'Lo, the king of this country—keep him our Lord!—
125 Sends bidding by me, as best him it pleaseth,
That no baron be so bold, on both his two eyes,
Once to strike one stroke, or to stir at all nearer
To lead a rout in his realm, none so regal to ween
Proudly with prowess his peace to disturb.
130 For this the usage is here and ever shall be,—
If any baron be so bold with banner to ride
Within this kingdom renown'd, save the king himself,
He shall lose the land and his life thereafter.
But since this custom ye ken not, nor the king's right,
135 He will forgive you this guilt, by his grace alone.
Full wide have I walked this world up and down,
But saw I ne'er such a sight, sirs, with mine eyes;
For all the folk of France is here fared together,
Of Lorraine, of Lombardy, and of Low Spain;
140 Wights of Westphalia, that in warfare are aye;
Easterlings full many, of England, of Ireland,
That are stuffed in steel, strokes for to deal.

And yonder a Banner of black on the battlefield stands,
Three Bulls, white-blazon'd, embroidered within,
145 From each one a-hanging a hempen cord
With a solid lead seal. I say as me thinketh,—
He who head is of Holy Church here is, I trow,
All fierce for the fight with the folk that he leads.

WINNER AND WASTER :

A second Banner is upborne, with a bend of green,
150 With three heads white-haired, with hoods a-loft,
Curled full craftily, combed in the neck.
These are the liegemen of this land that our laws should
guard ;
They think to deal this day with dints full many.
I hold him a fool who fights while fliting¹ may help,
155 When he has found his friend that failèd him never.

The third Banner on the battlefield is of bleached white,
With six galags,² I see, of sable within,
Each with a brown strap, with buckles twain.
These are Saint Francis's folk, who say all flesh shall soon pass ;
160 They are so fierce and so fresh ; they fight but seldom.
I wot well for winning they went forth from home ;
His purse weigheth full well who won them all hither.

The fourth Banner on the battlefield is borne up a-loft,
With both borders of black, a ball in the middle,
165 Right such as the sun is in the summer-time,
When most is the madness on Midsummer Eve.
Thinketh Dominic this day with dints to deal ;
Many a brilliant Brother his banner equippeth ;
And since the Pope is so prompt these Preachers to help,
170 And Francis with his folk such a force hath besides
And all the lieges of the land leadeth through wit,
There is no man upon mould to match them against,
To get grace on the ground, under God Himself.

And yet the fifth on the field, the fairest of all,—
175 A bright Banner of white, with boar-heads three,—
By any craft that I ken they Carmelites seem ;

¹ arguing, wrangling.

² shoes, galoshes.

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

They are the liegemen that love our Lady to serve.
Should I say the sooth, it seemeth nought else
Than that the friars with other folk the field shall win.

- 180 The sixth is of sendal, and so are they all,
White as the whale's bone, whoso the truth telleth,
With belts of black, buckled together,
The points pared round, the pendants away,
And aloft all the leather that low doth hang
185 Shines by the sharpening of the shaving-iron,—
The Order of the Austins, for aught that I ween,
For by a glimpse of the belt the banner I know!
And other signs see I here, set up on high,
Some witness of wool, and some of wine-tuns,
190 And other merchants' marks, so many, so thronged,
That in my wit I wot not, for all this world rich,
What sire 'neath the sun could the sum reckon up.

- And strong on the other side are stout men of arms,
Bold squires of blood, bowmen many,
195 That, strike they one stroke, stop will they never
Till either host on the heath be hewn to death.

- Wherefore bid I you both that brought them hither,
That ye wend with me, ere any woe befall,
To our comely king who this country owneth;
200 And, when he rightly hath reckon'd where resteth the
wrong,
Need neither be wroth to welcome his doom.
Of each rout rode out a rider, me thought,
Knights full comely on coursers arrayed,
Said,—'Sir Bringer-of-Bidding, bliss thee betide!
205 Well know we the king; he clotheth us both,

WINNER AND WASTER :

And hath foster'd and fed us these five and twenty winters.
So fare thou before, we shall follow thee after.'

And now, their bridles braced up, they are bound on
their way.

- On the lawn they alight, and, leaving their steeds,
210 Come up by the cliff; on their knees fall they down.
The king takes them by the hand, tells them to rise;
'Sirs, welcome,' he said, 'servants both of our house.'
The king wended his gaze, and for the wine asketh;
Men brought it anon in bowls of silver.
215 Methought I supped so strongly it sear'd both mine eyes.
And he that wishes to wit of this work any further,
Fill up freshly and fast, for here a Fitt endeth.

FITT II.

- B**UT then spake the king: 'Declare how ye hight,
And why hatred so hot your hearts should divide.
220 Shall I doom you this day, do ye now let me hear.'
'Certes,' said the one, 'the sooth for to tell,
I hight Winner, a wight who all the world helpeth,
For folk from me learn, through leading of Wit;
Who with speeding will spare, who spend not too much,
225 Live upon little, I love them the better.
Wit with me wendeth, and wisely me teacheth.
When I gather my goods, then gladdens my heart:
But this fell false thief that before thee standeth
Thinketh to strike ere he stint, to destroy me for ever.
230 All that I win through Wit he wasteth through pride;
I gather, I glean, and he quickly lets go;
I pin and I pinch, and he the purse opens.
Why hath this caitiff no care how men corn sell?

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

Untill'd lie his lands ; his tools are all sold :
235 Down are his dovecots, dry are his pools ;
Devil-a-wonder the wealth he wieldeth at home,
But hunger and high horses and hounds full keen !
Save a halberd and a spear hid in a corner,
A blade at his bed's head, he biddeth nought else
240 But a cutted courser, to career to his friends :
Then will he boast with his blade, blust'ring about,
This wicked curst thief, whom Waster men call,
Who, if he live may long, this land will destroy.
Wherefore doom us this day, for the dear Lord's love,
245 To fight forth with our folk, till one of us falls.'

'Yea, Winner,' quoth Waster, 'thy words are big ;
But I shall tell thee a tale that shall trouble thee more.
When thou hast toss'd and turn'd and travail'd all night,
And each wight in this world that with thee abides,
250 And hast stored thy wide houses with wool-sacks full,—
The beams bend at the roof, such bacon there hangs,
Stuffed are pounds sterling under steel bands—
What should wax of that wealth, if no waste were to
come ?
Some would rot, some would rust, some rats would feed.
255 Let be the cramming of thy coffers, for Christ's love of
heaven !
Let the people and the poor have part in thy silver ;
For wouldst thou walk abroad, and watch what befalleth,
Thou wouldst weep for ruth, so rife be the poor.
Wherefore, if longer thou live thus, believe thou well
this,—
260 Thou shalt be hanged in hell for what thou here sparest.
For such a sin thou hast sold thy soul into hell,

WINNER AND WASTER :

And there is aye-welling woe, world without end.'

'Leave thy words, Waster,' quoth Winner the rich,

'Thou moutheest of a matter thou madest thyself;

265 With thy stir and thy strife thou destroyest my goods,

In wrestling and in waking in winter nights,

In excess, in unthrift, in arrogance of pride.

There is no wealth in this world, to wash thine hands with,

That is not given and ground ere thou it have gotten.

270 Thou ledest roisterers in thy rout well richly attired ;

Some have girdles of gold that more goods have cost

Than all the fair free land that before was yours.

Ye follow not your fathers that foster'd you all

A kind harvest to catch and corn to win,

275 'Gainst the cold winter and keen, with clinging frosts,

And the dropless drought in the dead months after.

But thou betakest thee to the tavern before the town-head,

Each one ready with a bowl to blear both thine eyes,

To proffer what thou shalt have, and what thy heart pleases,

280 Wife, widow, or wench, that is wont there to dwell.

Then is it but 'Fill in!' and 'Fetch forth!' and Florrie
appears ;

'We-he!' and 'whoa-up!', words that suffice.

But when this bliss is pass'd, the bill must be paid.

Then must ye lay pledges, or your land must ye sell.

285 For such wicked works, worry thee God!

And as the Lord took whom He loved, and left the other,

The liefer to labour on land should each be.

Teach thy folk to till, to fence tightly thy fields ;

Raise up thy rent houses, make roomy thy yards,

290 Or have as thou hast wrought, and hope for e'en worse—

First the failing of food, and the fire thereafter,

To burn thee all at one blast, for thy baleful deeds :

Yet greater cold is to come, as me a clerk told.'

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

‘Yea, Winner,’ quoth Waster, ‘thy words are vain ;
295 With our feasts and our farings we feed the poor ;
It is pleasing to the Prince that Paradise wrought.
When Christ’s people have part it pleaseth Him better
Than if it be huddled and hidden and hoarded in coffers,
That no sun may it see through seven winters once ;
300 Or that friars should fetch it, when fallen art thou,
To paint their pillars therewith, or plaster their walls.
Thy son and executors, each sueth the other ;
After thy day make they dole, for durst thou never
Make feast or mind-ale, nor ever mirth lovedst.
305 A dole after thy day does for thee no more
Than a lighted lantern late in the night
Borne at thy back, beau sir, by my troth !
Now would God that it were as I well could devise,
That thou Winner, thou wretch, and Wanhope,¹ thy brother,
310 And eke Ember-days and the Eves of Saints,
And Friday and his fellow that follows him after,
Were drowned in the deep sea where never drought should
come,
And Deadly Sin for their death were indicted by twelve.
And these barons on the bench with biggins a-loft,
315 That are known and acclaimed as clerks the best,
As good as Aristotle or Austin the wise,
Would they all were shamed, and Sharesull among them,
Who said I prick’d with arm’d power his peace to disturb !
Wherefore, comely King, that our case dost now hear,
320 Let us swiftly with swords strike now together ;
For I see ’tis full sooth as said was of yore,
The richer in wealth, the rather will dread,—
The more he hath to hold, the more feeble of heart.’

¹ Despair.

WINNER AND WASTER :

- Then this wretched Winner wrathfully looks,
325 Says,—'Tis speedless speech to speak such words!
Lo, Waster, accursed, widely 'tis known,
Neither kaiser nor king nor knight thee doth follow,
Baron nor bachelor nor burgess thou lovest,
But four fellows or five who faith to thee owe;
330 And these thou dightest to dine with dainties so many
That each wight in this world may well weep for sorrow.
The boar's head shall be brought with bays aloft,
Bucktails full broad in broths therewithal,
Venison with the fruments, and pheasants full rich,
335 Baked meats near by, on the board well set,
Chewets of chopped flesh, and chickens grilled;
Each several guest has six men's share.
Were this not enough, another course follows,—
Roast with rich sauces and royal spice,
340 Kids cleft in the back, quartered swans,
Tarts of ten inches. It tortures my heart
To see the board o'er-spread with blazing dishes,
As a rood arrayed with rings and with stones.
The third mess to me were a marvel to tell,
345 For all is Martinmass meat that I mostly know of,
Nought but worts with flesh-meat, without wild fowl,
Save a hen unto him that the house owneth;
And ye will have basted birds broach'd on a spit,
Barnacle-geese and bitterns, and many billed snipes,
350 Larks and linnets, lapp'd all in sugar,
Woodcocks and woodpeckers, full warm and hot,
Teals and titmice, to take what you please;
Caudels of conies, and custards sweet,
Dariols and dishmeats, that dearly cost,
355 Maumeny, as men call it, your maws to fill;
Twelve dishes at a time between two men,

[illegible]

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

Though your bowels for bale may burn within.

Your trumpeters teen me, their tones are so loud,
Each wight on the way their warbling may hear,
360 And will say to themselves, side by side as they ride,
Ye have need of no help of the heavenly King:
Rightly scorn'd are ye thus, and suffer scathe after,
That reach for a repast a ransom of silver.

But once I heard in a hall from a herdman's tongue,—
365 'Better were meals many than a merry night.'

And he that wishes to wit of this work any further,
Fill up freshly and fast, for here a Fitt endeth.

FITT III.

'YEA, Winner,' quoth Waster, 'I wot well myself
What shall befall the folk within a few years.
370 Lo, the pure plenty of corn that the people sow,
That God will grant, in His grace, to grow on the earth,
To impair the price that it pass not too high,
Shall make thee wax mad, in wild despair,
Hoping for a hard year, and so hang thyself.
375 Wouldst thou have lords to live as lads a-foot?
Prelates as priests that the parishes guard?
Proud merchants of price, as pedlars o' the village?
Let lords live as they list, lads as befits them,—
These the bacon and beef, these bitterns and swans,
380 These the rough of the rye, these the ruddy wheat,
These the gray gruel, these the good sauce;
So may the people have their part, now in poverty bestead,
Some good morsel of meat to mend their ill cheer.

If fowl freely should fly, and frightened were never,
385 And wild beasts in the wood wallow'd all their lives,
And fishes floated in the flood, each feeding on other,
Then a hen at a halfpenny by half a year's end,

WINNER AND WASTER :

And not a lad in the land a lord for to serve!
This surely thou seeest, forsooth, for thyself,
390 He who wealth would win, a waster must find,
For if it grieveth one, it gladdeneth another.'

'Now,' quoth Winner to Waster, 'I wonder in heart
At these poor penniless men, precious furs who buy,
Saddles of sendal, with circles full rich!
395 Lest your wives ye make wroth, their wishes to follow,
Ye sell wood after wood in a short while,
Both the oak and the ash and all that there grows;
The sprouts and the saplings ye spare for your children,
And say God will grant, in His grace, that they grow in
the end

400 To give shade to your sons; but the shame is your own.
Needlessly save ye the soil, for to sell it ye think.

Your forefathers were fain, when a friend to them came,
To speed to the shaws, and to show him the coverts,
In each holt that they had a hare for to find,
405 To bring to the broad lawns bucks a many,
To catch and let go, so to lighten their hearts.
Now all is offered and sold, my sorrow is the more,
Wasted all wilfully, your wives to please.
They who before had lords and ladies rich,
410 Now are they freaks of the new fashion, in fancy attire,
With long trailing sleeves, that sweep to the ground,
The borders all edged with ermine about.
'Tis as hard, I trow, to handle them in the dark
As a silly simple wench who silk never work'd.

415 But, whoso liketh, look on her, our Lady of heaven,
How she fled for fear afar from her kith,
On an ambling ass, without any more pride,
Save a bairn in her bosom, and a broken halter

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

That Joseph held in his hand, that high one to guard!
420 Though she ruled this rich world, her robe was but poor,
To give example of such, and to show others
To leave pomp and pride that poverty scorn.'

Then this Waster wrathfully wide open'd his eyes,
Said,—'Thou Winner, thou wretch, I wonder in heart
425 What our clothes have cost thee, caitiff, to buy,
That thou shouldst belles upbraid for their brightsome
robes,

Since we them vouchsafe, who the silver pay!
Well befits it a lover his lady to keep,
As her form is fair to further her heart.
430 She will love him then leally alone as her life,
Make him bold and brave-hearted with blade for to smite,
To shun scandal and shame, where soldiers are gathered.
And if my people be proud, it pleases me better
To see them fair and free before mine own eyes.
435 And ye niggards, at night, nap ye never so hard,
Ye start 'mid your snoring, spring up on your haunches;
Anon watch ye the weather, bewailing the while
That ye embellish'd your houses, and your household arrayed.

Wherefore, wrongfully, Winner, thou wastest thy time,
440 For good day or glad gettest thou never.
The devil at thy death-day shall deal out thy goods;
Those thou wishest should wield them, ne'er shall them
win;

Thy scatheful executors shall scatter them all,
And thou hast hell full hot for what thou here savedst.
445 Thou heedest not a tale that told was of yore.
I hold him mad that worries such winnings to make.
Have it who it have shall, and hold it his while!
Take the cup as it comes, the case as it falls,

WINNER AND WASTER :

For who longest may live is likely to fetch
450 Wood that he waste must, to warm his heels,
Further than his father did by fifteen miles.
Now I care not to carp more. But, Sir King, by thy troth,
Deem where we shall dwell: the day, methinks, hieth.
Sore heavy my heart is, and my harm is the more
455 Still to see in my sight whom in soul I so hate.'

The king lovingly looks on those liegemen twain,
Says, 'Cease, sirs, your brawls, and your big bold words,
And I shall doom you this day where your dwellings shall
be,
To live in a land where each loved is the most.
460 Wend, Winner, thy way o'er the wild waves;
Pass forth by Paris to the Pope of Rome;
The cardinals ken thee well, will keep thee full fair,
And in silken sheets thy sides will let lie,
Will feed thee, and foster thee, and further thy heart,
465 As lief to wax mad as make thee once wroth.
But look, sir, by thy life, when letters I send,
That thou hie to me homeward on horse or a-foot,
And when I know thou wilt come, he his congé shall take,
And shall wend to another wight till thou wander forth;
470 For though thou bide in this burgh to thy burial day,
With him shall befall thee ne'er a foot for to walk.
And thou, Waster, I will thy wonted dwelling shall be
Where most waste is of wealth, and wings thereunto.
Choose thy way into Cheap, a chamber there rear,
475 See thy window be wide, and watch thence about,
Where any with purse shall pass through the burgh.
Teach him to the tun, till tight he becomes,
Make him drink all the night, that he dry be at morrow;
Then acquaint him with Crete, to comfort his veins;

A GOOD SHORT DEBATE

480 Bring him to Bread Street, beckon with finger,
Show him of fat sheep shoulders enow,
Hot for the hungry, and a hen or two.
Set him soft on a seat, and send then and fetch;
Bring out of the burgh the best thou canst find,
485 And look thy knave have a knock, if the cloth be not
spread.

But let him pay ere he pass, and pick him so clean
That devil a penny in his purse, and put out his eyes.
When that is eaten and drunk, dwell there no longer,
But teach him out of the town, to trot off for more.
490 Then pass to the Poultry, the people thee know,
Instruct thou thy steward to stock well thy food,
The herons, the haslets, the hens well served,
The partridges, the plovers, and other plucked birds,
The alps, and the ouzels, the egrets dear;
495 The more thou wasteth thy wealth, the more Winner thee
loveth.

And watch for me, Winner, if wealth thou wouldst have,
When I wend in war my warriors to lead,
For at the proud Palace of Paris the rich
I mean to do in-deed, and to dub thee a knight,
500 And to give gifts full great, of gold and of silver,
To the leal in allegiance, who love me in heart;
And with folk that me follow then fare, as I came,
Unto the Kirk of Cologne, where the kings lie entombed . . .

NOTES AND GLOSSARY

'MS.' indicates Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 31042. Where a MS. reading differs from the text printed as an Appendix to *The Parlement of Thre Ages* (Roxburghe Club, 1897), the reading of the present edition may be considered correct, and due to fresh collation with the original. 'K' refers to the review of the 1897 volume by the late Professor Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXV. 2 (Breslau, 1898): B. = Dr. Henry Bradley (see the Notes on the respective lines).

I. TEXTUAL NOTES: EMENDATIONS

MS. READINGS.	EMENDATION IN TEXT.
4 nyne	nyn[d]e
5 wylou	wyl[l]e
6 Wyse	Wy[li]
7 In MS. between 21 and 22	<i>Transferred to between 6 and 8</i>
in	[o]n
10 hore eldes	hore [for] eld es
15 of blode	of [no] blode
16 lede hir at will	lede at hir will
22 wroghte	wr[iten]
25 thies	th[ree]
26 japes telle	japes [can] telle
28 made it	ma[kes]
37 threpen	threpe[d]
54 lordes	l[e]des
55 alle	al[s] l]
58 hate	h[ethe] K.
64 thre	th[ies]
73 hattfull	hat[e]full
77 quarters	quarter[e]s
79 out	o[per]
grym	[i]rous]
83 kynge	k[nyght]e
91 was	as
94 girde in the myddes	g[er]ede ful riche]
108 3is	[y] serue]
121 caughten	[brawndeschet]
125 Send his erande	Send[es bodworde]
127 no, none	n[e], no
129 with zoure powers	with power[e]
132 þe kyngdome riche	þe [kydde] kyngdome
134 kynge ryche	kynge[s] ry[t]he
136 amonges thies wyes one	wyes amonges
137 segge	segge[s]
144 bibulles	bulles
157 galeys	gale[g]s
158 bokels	bokel[e]s
163 was	[es]

TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS

164	balke	bal[l]e B\
166	When it hase moste of þ ^e maye	When moste-[es] þ ^e ma[z]e
167	That was	Th[ynkes]
176	<i>In MS. between 185 and 187</i>	<i>Transferred to between 175 and 177</i>
	semyde	semy[th]
177	ordire	[ledes] K.
183	pendant	pendant[s]
185	schynethe alle for	schynethe for
186	<i>In MS. between 175 and 177</i>	<i>Transferred to between 185 and 187.</i>
187	knewe	kn[o]we
188	seghe	see
189	some of wisesse	some wisesse
190	some, merke	[And oþer], merke[s]
194	bowmen	bow[e]men
197	hedir broghte	broghte hedir
201	wyes, doeth	wy, d[em]eth
208	and bown	and [thay] bown
209	leued	leue[n]
211	henttis by	henttis [þam] by
212	welcomes	welcome
213	askes	aske[de]
215	sowrede	sowede
223	lordes	l[e]des
227	when gadir	when [I] gadir
236	wounder one the	wounder the
237	howses	ho[r]ses
254	some rote, ratons	some [scholde] rote, raton[e]s
264	tho	tho[u]
266	playinge, wynttres	[wraxl]inge K., wyntt[e]res
267	angarte pryde	angarte [of] pryde
270	ryhely	ry[c]hely
275	gleterand	[cleng]and[e]
277	wolle to	wolle [te] to
288	tymen	ty[n]en
302	sees	se[w]es
314	howes	[biggins]
317	it wiste	itwiste B.
321	es full sothe	es sothe
326	this wrechide	th[ou] w[eryed]
329	owthe	ow[es]
330	he	[þou]
332	plontes	[bayes]
340	quarterd	quarter[e]d
348	he	[ʒ]e
352	hym	[ʒowe]

TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS

353-60	MS. <i>defective</i>	(<i>see facsimile</i>)*
353	... s (<i>part of preceding l</i> <i>visible</i>)	[Caudel]s
354	... ls	[Daryo]ls
355	... ne	[Mawme]ne
356	<i>Whole word torn away</i>	[Twelue]
357	... he	[Thog]he
358	... yth	[Me ten]yth
359	<i>Whole word torn away</i>	[pat iche]
360	<i>Whole word torn away; bottom</i> <i>stroke of p visible</i>	[Pan]
362	schathed	scathed
364	one	one[s]
366	forthe	forthe[r]
369	fewe	[a lite]
370	Thurgh	Th[en]
	poure	pure
372	&	[pat it]
386	ete	[fr]ete K.
395	&	[pat]
399	MS. <i>defective</i>	
400	saue to	s[chadewe]
405	brod + <i>letter covered by blot</i>	brod[e]
408	wastes	waste[d] K.
411	elde	[si]de
413	pat es as harde as	pat as harde [e]s
415	who so lukes on hir lyre	who-so [lykes] luke on hir
420	wordes	w[e]des
422	For to	To
	ofte schewes	[e]schewes
423	p ^e	p[is]
	castis	[werped]
435	ze nappen so harde	nappe ze [neuer] so harde
436	Routten, raxillyng, hurdes	R[axill]en, r[ou]t[yng], hurd[i]es
437	ze beden	Beden[e] ze
438	nade, raysed	[h]ade, [a]rayed
442	were	w[a]re
445	tast tent	tast [no] tent
446	make for to	mak[ande] to
447	hir . . . hir . . . hir	hi[t] . . . hi[t] . . . hi[t]
454	myn &	myn [herte] & K.

* Mr. Gilson, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly, at my request, lifted a small portion of the paper covering up the gap in the MS., with the result that in l. 353 l shows before s; in l. 355 ne before final -ne (there may be another stroke before the first -ne); in l. 358 n before y. These new readings corroborate the readings proposed.

TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS

457	brode worde	bro[p]e worde[s]
468-73	MS. <i>defective</i>	
468	co . . .	co[me]
469	<i>Whole word torn away</i>	[lache]
470	be . . . ; <i>tail of r visible</i>	be [ryinge-day]
471	happyns	[falles]
	<i>Whole word torn away</i>	[to strecche]
472	won . . .	won[ne þer euer]
473	wyng . . . till (<i>fragment of letter, possibly n, before till</i>)	wyng[es vn]till
476	potet beryn	ber[ande] pote[ner]
480	bikken þ ⁱ	bikken [with] þ ⁱ
492	henne	henne[s]
	serue	serue[d]
494	þis oper foules	þ[^e] of[sul]les
498	pales	pale[y]s
500	s + <i>letters rubbed out</i>	s[iluer]

II. EXPLANATORY AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

[PROLOGUE]

1 4. Cp. the opening of *Sir Gawayne*, and the closing lines of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*.

3. selcouthes: cp.

'Many selcouth shal be seene in all Christen landes';

'But much selcouth shal be seene within short time'.

Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies, reprinted from Waldegrave's edition, 1663; Bannatyne Club, 1833; 'Prophecy of Merlin',

p. 3. Cp. 'ferlyes', *Sir Gawayne*, 23.

hath: probably for 'hafe'; cp. 'owthe', l. 329.

4. the nyn[d]e dele: MS. nyne dele.

5. Witt and Wy[ld]e: MS. wyles; the collocation recalls 'wyt and wille' in the prophecies attributed to Thomas of Erceldoune:—

'When hares kendles ope herston;

When Wyt & Wille werres togedere;

When rypt ant wrong ascentep to gedere;

When laddes weddep louedis'; etc.

Thomas of Erceldoune, ed. by J. A. H. Murray,
E.E.T.S., 1875, p. xviii.

The whole passage, and especially ll. 10-15, is reminiscent of this and other prophecies attributed to 'Rymour, Beid, Merling' and Waldhaue; cp. *Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies*, *ibid*.

'Wyies and Wit' is found in *Piers Plowman*, C. V. 77, where A. and B. read 'Wisdom and Wit'.

6 7. Wy[ld]: MS. wyse, the scribe's eye has probably caught line 22; line 7 is in the MS. between ll. 21, 22, but evidently belongs here.

frenchipe is used in the special sense of close kinship, the affection between kin, as 'frendi' in ON. and Scandinavian generally = kinsman, used of grandson, or son, or near relation. In the present passage the poet evidently refers to filial affection.

7. [o]n fere, MS. in fere; but the poet has in mind the M.E. proverb 'fer from ege, fer from herte', *Proverbs of Hendyng*, l. 208.

10. [for] eld es: MS. eldes.

13. 'And hares on the hearth-stone shall crouch in their lair';

cp. 'This is a true talking that Thomas of tells,

That the hare shal hirpil on the hard stone,

In hope of grace but grace gets she non'; *Collection*, *ibid.*, p. 38.

'hirpil' is a variant of 'hurtle'. Some burlesque alliterative lines in a MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, of the fifteenth century give another variant—the hare and harthestone hurtuld to-geydur', *Reliquiae Antiquae*, i, p. 84; 'whan hares kendles ope herston'.

14. boyes of [no] blode: MS. boyes of blode, *i. e.* lads of no blood, of poor birth; *cp.* 'when laddes weddeþ louedes', in Note on l. 5; also *cp.*

'I shal giue you a token that Thomas of tells,
When a lad with a Ladie shal goe ouer the fields,
And many faire thing weeping for dread,
For loue of there deare freindes lies looking on hilles,
That it shall be woe for to tel the teind of their sorrow';
Collection, ibid., p. 39;

'Then shal Ladies laddes wed', *ibid.*, p. 17.

16. lede at hir will: MS. lede hir at will.

17. Thene dredfull domesdaye: *cp.* 'The dreadful day of destenie shall driue to the night', *ibid.*, p. 7.

19. *Cp. Matt.* xxiv. 33 'scitote quia prope est in januis'.

20-30. makers of myrthes, *i. e.* minstrels who composed rhymes, 'rimours'; *cp.*

'And summe murthhes to maken, as munstrals cunne,
And gete gold with here gle, giltles, I trowe;
Bote iapers and iangelers, Iudas children,
Founden hem fantasieses, and fooles hem maaden,
And habbeth wit at heor wille, to worchen ȝif hem luste.
That Poul precheth of hem, I dar not preouen heere;
Qui loquitur turpiloquium, hee is Luciferes hyne.'

Piers Plowman, A. Prologue, 33-9;

so in B., with 'synneles' for 'giltles' in some texts; in C. a noteworthy change is made:—

'And somme murthes to make, as mynstrals conneth,
That wollen neyther swynke ne swete, bote swery grete othes,
And fynde vp foule fantasieses,' etc.;

further, *cp.*

'He is worse than Iudas that ȝueth a Iaper siluer', B. IX. 90;

'And Iapers and Iogeloures and Iangelers of gestes', B. X. 31.

'Lordes mynstralles' are mentioned in B. xiii. 229; the whole passage as modified in C. XVI should be noted.

Concerning minstrels, etc., *cp. English Wayfaring Life in the Fourteenth Century*, J. J. Jusserand, pp. 188-218; Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*; Ritson's *Ancient Metrical Romances*, etc.

22-8. 'Set within wise words such as were never written,

Nor read in any romance that ever a man heard;

But now a child in appearance, without chin-weeds,

Who never composed through wit [three] words together,

From the time he can jangle as a jay, and japes can tell,

He shall be trusted and loved and made much of a-while,

Well more than the man who himself wrote verse'.

EXPLANATORY AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

22. wr[iten]: MS. wroghte: it is to be noted that the word is repeated in l. 25.

25. th[ree]; MS. thies; *cp.* l. 64.

26. japes [can] telle: MS. japes telle.

28. ma[kes]: MS. made it; the scribe carelessly misread the text before him, or by reading 'it' attempted to justify the reading 'thies' for 'thrie' in l. 25.

[FITT I]

32. Als I went in the weste, the conventional phrase in so many West-Midland and other poems; *cp.* 'By west of late as I dyd walke', Iving's *Early Popular Scottish Poetry*, ii, p. 74; 'As I wandrede her bi weste', *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Part II, E.E.T.S., Original Series 117, p. 696; 'Be west, vnder a wyld wode-syde', *ibid.*, p. 658. On the forms of the Middle English 'Chansons d'Aventure', *cp.* *Bryn Mawr College Monographs*, vol. xii, by Helen Estabrook Sandison.

37. threpe[d]: MS. threpen; *cp.* 'And the throstills full throlly threpen in the bankes', *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 14.

38. Hipped vp hegh-walles, etc., *i.e.* 'the hickwalls (woodpeckers) from the lowly hazels shouted up to other birds'.

Is 'hipped' an early instance of 'to hip', from 'hip' defined by Dr. Johnson as 'an exclamation or calling to one; the same as the Latin *eho, heus*'? The earliest reference in *NED.* to the interjection is 1752. It may be, however, that OF. *huper* from 'houp!', an exclamation of similar imitative origin, used in calling dogs, underlies 'hipped'. Anyhow, from the context it is clear that it is not to the hopping of the woodpecker, but to their noise, that the poet wishes to call attention.

The word 'high-wall', or 'hickwall' (see the many forms in *NED.* *sub* hickwall) embodies the 'loud laughing note' of the bird. The earliest occurrence in *NED.* is assigned to the fifteenth century 'hygh-while', and variants are 'highawe, heche-wall, hieway'. *EDD.* adduces many folk-modifications; *e.g.* 'ecall, bakel, hoodall, yaffle, yockel'. 'Yike' in Surrey and Hampshire is used for the cry of the woodpecker.

The second half of the word suggests influence of 'woodwall', where it has been suggested that wall = OE. *wealh*, strange, foreign; but the forms 'hickwaw', etc. seem to point to OE. *wāg*, ME. *wagh*, wall; while 'hygh-while', and the many variants ending in -el, le, still further complicate the problem.

By some oversight, or intentionally, *NED.* does not suggest that the first part of 'hegh-wall' points to the stem of OE. *higora, m.*; *higere, f.*, woodpecker, or magpie; *cp.* OHG. *hēhara*, G. *Häher*, Gk. *κίσα* (= *κίσα*), Sansk. *kikidivis*; from an imitative root, representing the bird's cry. This is the only case, it is alleged, of the name of a singing bird common to Asia and Europe (*cp.* O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indo-germanischen Alterthumskunde*).

Riddle 24, in *The Elvener Book*, has for its subject 'Higorn', which is given in Runic letters:—

- 'Ic eom wunderlicu wiht; wræne mine stefne;
Hwílum beorce swā hund, hwílum blāte swā gāt.'
i.e. 'I am a strange creature; I change my voice;
At times I bark as a dog, at times I bleat as a goat.'
Old English Riddles, ed. Tupper, 1910; ed. A. J. Wynn, 1912.
'The yikoung lauh of the yafth' is quoted in *EMM* from *Foetus Titles*, 1893.

48. lande: probably for 'launde'.

51. Harde hattes appon hedes and helmys with prestys: cp. l. 72. The 'cap of estate', which was worn on the helmet, and bore the crest, first appears in the reign of Edward III; cp. Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, vol. i, p. 1.

54. l[es]: MS. lordes.

55. And al[s I] prayed: MS. And alle prayed; but the rival hosts were most anxious to get at one another, and were not likely to pray for peace till the prince came. The line is perplexing in the MS., and I propose the reading in the text. The dreamer not the combatants, prayed for the coming of the king, and as he wanted, let the royal pavilion (clearly that of Edward III) was reared at the crest of a cliff.

Probably some previous scribe had omitted 'I' (as in l. 227), and 'alle' was evolved from 'als'.

58. appon h[ethe]: MS. hate; cp. l. 196.

60. Cp. 'ryol red cloþe', *Sir Gawayne*, l. 2036.

61. Ynglysse besantes: evidently a reference to Edward III's gold noble, first coined in 1344.

64. thiesj: MS. thre; cp. l. 25, where MS. has 'thies', evidently for 'thrie' or 'thre'.

68. Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme chynkes: nowhere else is found an early English version of 'Hunt seat qui mal y pense', or perhaps the motto without 'y', as found written at the end of the MS. of *Sir Gawayne*.

69. This seems to be a loyal exclamation on the part of the poet, cp. l. 124. On the other hand, I cannot see the suggestion that possibly the cry 'God save the king of this land' comes from the hosts, and that 'ypon heghe one the holt' may mean 'overhead in the holt' (though 'in' rather than 'one' would then be required). If so, it is to answer to this cry that 'ane hathell vp stondeþ'. A scansion would be required after 'holt' if this is the correct interpretation of the lines.

'Now' introduces the new episode, and the expectation of the dreamer, when he recognized the Royal Pavilion, that the Prince for whom he was praying would soon be visible.

The difficulty is the word 'holt', which ordinarily means 'wood', as in l. 50. Here, if used in the sense of 'rough hill' (as in later English and also in Icelandic), it is noteworthy, and possibly due to a scribal substitution for 'hulle', hill, *i.e.* the cliff mentioned in l. 59.

70-1. Among the earliest records of the Order of the Garter, 1347-9, occurs the following:—

'Et ad faciendum tria hernesia pro R. quorum duo de velveto alb. operata cum *Garteriis* de blu et diasprez per totam campedinem cum *Wodehouses*', etc.; Beltz, in his *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 380, prints the passage, and glosses the last word 'Qy. Woodwalls, or Wittwalls, birds of the species of Woodpeckers?' 'Wodehouse' is heraldically a satyr or savage man, and is a corruption of 'wodwyse' or 'wode-wose', OE. wudu-wāsa. Is the man here described the Garter Herald? It would appear from the passage quoted that the king's Garter Robe was embroidered with 'woodhouses'. Members of the many families bearing the name, and other families also, had no doubt savage men as part of their coats of arms; cp. 'rouch wodwyss wyld', as supporters of the Douglas shields, *Buke of the Howlat*, l. 616. Robert de Wodehouse, the treasurer of the Exchequer, who died about 1345, was a well-known member of a Norfolk family; the Earl of Kimberley is descended from his eldest brother, Sir William Wodehouse.

72. *ane hatte appon lofte*: this is first found on the great seal made for Edward III after the Peace of Brétigny in 1340. It is illustrated, together with the Plantagenet shield, in the *Armorial de Gueldre* (J. Woodward, *Treatise on Heraldry*, vol. ii, plate xi).

73. *hat[ø]full*: MS. *hattfull*.

76. *that þat hillede the helme*: from the back of the cap there hung a kind of floating veil, protecting the neck; this is the origin of the heraldic mantling.

77. *quarter[e]s*: MS. *quarters*.

78-80. 'Two quarters had flowers of France', the lilies, namely, the first quarter and the last; and the two other quarters had six fierce beasts of England,—three leopards in the upper half (in the second quarter), and three in the lower position beneath (*i.e.* in the third quarter).

Fleurs de lys, the device of the Royal Shield of France—'France Ancient'—were quartered with the lions of England, in 1337, when Edward III claimed the crown of France. This shield, *semée* of *fleurs de lys*, *i.e.* with *fleurs de lys* scattered freely, must be distinguished from the later shield of 'France Modern'—six *fleurs de lys*, quartered by Henry IV on his shield about 1405.

The Lions of the Royal Shield of England were described heraldically as 'leopards', '*lions leopards*', *i.e.* lions passant gardant. 'A lion walking and looking about him, the early heralds held to be acting the part of a leopard; consequently when he was in any such attitude, they blazoned him as "a leopard"' (*English Heraldry*, C. Boutell, p. 84). Hence, the poet mentions 'flowers of France', without specifying the number, but gives the actual number of leopards, three in each of the second and third quarters. In the heraldic *Le Siege de Karlawerok*, giving the accurate blazon of above one hundred Knights or Bannerets of the reign of Edward I, the Royal Banner is described,—

'En sa baniere trois luparte
De or fin estoit mis en rouge
Courant felloun fier et harouge,'—

i. e. 'in his banner were three leopards courant of fine gold, set on red, fierce, haughty, and cruel', etc. (p. 22).

Cp. 'Both þe lely and þe lipard · suld geder on a grene,'
Minot's *Poems*, xi. 3 (*ed.* J. Hall).

78. be-fore and be-hynde: *i. e.* in the first quarter and the last.
Cp. OF. devant, used heraldically for the first quarter; *e. g.*

'Se ot devant un blanche estoile',—
which had a white star in the first quarter (not 'in the upper part', as the editor renders it). *Le Siege de Karlaverok*, *ed.* Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1828, p. 26.

79. o[per], [irous]: MS. out, grym.

83. k[nyght]e: MS. kyng. 'And by the cabin I identified the knight I saw'; *cp.* l. 187.

88. One of the louelyeste ledis, etc. *Cp.* 'His body was comely, and his face like the face of a god, wherefrom so marvellous grace shone forth that whosoever openly considered his countenance, or dreamed thereof by night, conceived a sure and certain hope of pleasant solace and good fortune that day;' from the *Continuation to 1380 of Adam of Murimuth* (? 1275-1347), trans. by Thomas Hog (*English Historical Society*), 1846, p. 226.

90. kirtill and mantill: evidently the surcoat, or tunic, and mantle of the Garter. Beltz quotes for the year 1351, from the fragment of an account of payments, 'robes for the king, consisting of four garments of red velvet, against the feast of St. George, namely, two surcoats (*supertunicæ*), one vest (*tunica*) with hood, and one cloak, embroidered over with clouds of silver [one of the royal badges] and eagles of pearl and gold, viz. under every alternate cloud an eagle of pearl, and under each of the other clouds a golden eagle; every eagle having in his beak a garter, with the motto "*Hony*", etc. embroidered thereon:' etc. (*Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 3, 4).

91. Bery-brown as^t his berde: MS. was. According to the poet, l. 206, he was now about forty.

In one of the Cottonian MSS., Nero D. VI, reproduced in Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, no. LIII., is a fine illumination depicting Edward III in 1357; the 'bery-brown' beard is noteworthy.

Evidently both the royal kirtle and mantle were made of 'brown bleaunt'; *cp.*

'A mere mantyle . . .
Of a broun bleaunt enbrauded ful ryche,'

Gaw. & Gr. Knt. 879.

'In o robe Tristrem was boun . . .
Was of a blihand broun;'

Sir Trist. I. xxxviii.

94. g[erede ful riche]: MS. girde in the myddes.

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100. The king's fondness for hawking, etc., was proverbial. Froissart, speaking of the campaign of 1360, says: 'Et avec ce le roi avoit bien pour lui trente fauconniers à cheval chargés d'oiseaux et bien soixante couples de forts chiens et autant de lévriers, dont il alloit chacun jour ou en chasse ou en rivière, ainsi qu'il lui plaisoit.' (Bk. I, ch. cdxli, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*; cp. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 1881, Bk. I, ch. ii.)

101. a beryn, i. e. the Black Prince.

103. knyghte: perhaps the poet wrote 'duk', as the alliteration requires; cp. '& haf dyzt 3onder dere a duk to haue worped', *Sir Gawayne*, l. 678.

108. 'Y serue, lorde', etc.; MS. 3is lorde'. The second half of the line, namely, 'while my life shall endure', presupposes some such phrase as 'I am your servant'; cp.

'Merci, madame, 3oure mon schal I worthe,
To worchen 3oure wille, while my lyf dureth';

Piers Plowman, A. XI. 100.

There can be little doubt that '3is' is a scribal substitution for 'I serue', the poet's Englishing of 'Ich dene', the Black Prince's motto (now 'Ich dien'; see my letters on the subject in the *Times Literary Supplement*, August 1, 8, and 22, 1918). This would rightly lead up to the reference to the Ostrich Feathers, and would be characteristic of the poet who had already given an English rendering of 'Honi soit', the motto of the Garter.

In view of the many scribal changes in the text, the original reading of the line may well have been—

'I serue, lorde', said þe lede, 'while my life dures';

the movement of the first half of this line may be compared with that of l. 221.

'Y serue', contracted (for the northern form *ser* = *serue*), would readily suggest 'Yis'.

110. It is noteworthy that, as the errand is one of peace, he goes without helmet and shield; but, unlike the Green Knight, he wears a 'pisan' and a 'pawnee' and 'plates'; cp.

'Wheper hade he no helme ne hawbergh nauper,
Ne no pysan, ne no plate þat pented to armes,
Ne no schafte, ne no schelde, to schwue ne to smyte,
But in his on honde', etc.

Gaw. & Gr. Kn., ll. 203-6; see, also, note on l. 121.

115. jupown: this was a tunic worn either under the armour as in Chaucer, *Prolog.* 75, or above, as here and in the Allit. *Morte Arthure*, l. 905. In the latter case it took the place of the cote-armure, and was embroidered with armorial bearings. On the Black Prince's effigy at Canterbury, his jupon is embroidered with the arms of the Plantagenets, as described in l. 76, etc.; so also is the jupon itself which hangs above the tomb; cp. Planché's *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, vol. i, p. 317, for a reproduction of this, and also an illustration from Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 12228, of a king putting on his jupon, which

opens down both sides. The Black Prince's was laced at the back.

116. **A brod chechun**, *i. e.* a broad scutcheon, or escutcheon; for the various spellings *cp.* *NED.* *sub* escutcheon and scutcheon. The present form is not recorded, but *cp.* *skecons*, *Coventry Leet Book*, p. 200; *squechonis*, *Ralf Coilyear*, 632. In view of the present passage, there is special point in the following quotation in *NED.* under the year 1594, from the Buccleugh MSS.: 'He is upon a journey, messenger-like, with a skuchin on his breast.'

117-18. This is probably the earliest reference in English to the Prince of Wales's feathers. Within the escutcheon were 'three wings' (*i. e.* full and large feathers), wrought naturally.

It is noteworthy that the Ostrich Feathers are here used as a token of peace. In his will the Black Prince specially referred, 'pur la paix', to 'nos bages des plumes d'ostruce'.

wynges; it is noteworthy that OE. *fepera*, pl. of 'feper', was used in the sense of wings, though the more common form for 'wing' was 'fipere'. So, in ME., possibly by the coalescing of the two words, 'feathers' = wings. Hence, perhaps, the use in the present passage of 'wings' for 'feathers'.

wroghte in the kynde: the poet wishes to imply that no one would have doubted that they were ostrich feathers.

Vmbygon: *cp.* 'Her [h]ere [h]eke al hyr vmbe-gon', *Perle*, l. 210, where, as in the present passage, the past participle has almost the adverbial force of 'all about, all around'; 'engirt with a gold wire' might perhaps give the force of the words.

119. 'When I saw him, lo, he was youngest of years', etc. The exclamatory use of 'what' gives a vivid effect to the statement. The Prince was about twenty-one at the date of the action of the poem.

121. **He brake a braunche in his hand**; *cp.*

'3e may be seker bi þis braunch þat I bere here,
þat I passe as in pes, & no plyzt seche;
For had I founded in fere, in feztung wyse,
I haue a hauberghe at home, & a helme boþe,
A schelde, & a scharp spere, schinande bryzt,
And oþer weppenes to welde, I wene wel als,
But for I wolde no were, my wedeȝ ar 'softer';

Gaw. & Gr. Kn., ll. 265-71.

The 'branch' as the symbol of peace was derived from the 'olive-branch' (*Genesis* viii. 11); *cp.*

'Twelue messengers til hym were sent . . . wyȝ olyue braunches in handes born'. Robert Brunne, *Chron. Wace* (Rolls), 11446. 'The Green Knight', in *Gaw. & Gr. Kn.*,

'in his on honde he hade a holyn bobbe (*i. e.* a bunch of holly),
þat is grattet in grene, when greueȝ ar bare'. ll. 206-7.

[*brawndeschet*]: MS. caughten; *cp.* 'And brawndeschet that brighte swerde', *Parl. of Thre Ages*, l. 504.

125. **Send[es] [bodworde]**: MS. Send his erande; *cp.* 'And than bodworde vnto [Balame] full boldly he sendys', *Parl. of Thre Ages*,

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l. 558. Kölbing suggests 'sonde' for 'erande', but this will not satisfy the requirements of the alliteration.

by: this takes the alliteration of the line, *cp.* l. 101; and note, also, that 'with' is treated similarly in ll. 198 and 346.

127. n[e], no: MS. no, none.

128. so ryall: parallel to 'so bolde'. Perhaps 'none' or 'ne' has been omitted by the scribe before 'so'.

129. with power[e]: MS. with ȝoure powers.

130. For this es the vsage: evidently a reference to the *Statute of Treasons*, 1352; it is there stated that 'if percase any man of this realm ride armed [covertly] or secretly with men of arms against any other . . . it shall be judged felony or trespass, according to the Laws of the Land of old time used, and according as the case requireth' (*Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 320).

132. [kyd]: MS. þe kyngdome riche.

133. the londe. The loss of the land seems to imply outlawry, and not merely the loss of lands.

134. Botſen ȝe knowe noghte this kythe ne the kynge[s] ry[t]he: MS. kynge ryche. The scribe, evidently thinking that 'kythe' here is the word used in the preceding phrase, 'the kyng of this kyth', l. 124, has endeavoured to make sense of the line by reading 'kynge ryche' instead of 'kynges rythe'. 'Kyth' in the sense of 'rule, procedure', is not uncommon in Middle English. *Cp. e.g.* ' & knowest alle þe kuppes þat to kourt langes', *William of Palerne*, 332. The spelling 'ryth' for 'ryȝt' is found in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; *cp. e.g.* 'þat rith wolde þei hadde', *Richard the Redeless*, II. 137. 'Kynge[s] ry[t]he' = the king's right or prerogative; *cp.* ON. *konungsrētt*, king's right.

136. wyes amonges: MS. amonges thies wyes one. A scribe has caught 'one' from the previous line, and further, the force of the whole line has been misunderstood.

137. ſegge[s]: MS. ſegge.

139. Of Lorreyne, of Lumbardye: *cp.* 'In Lorayne or Lumbardye', Allit. *Morte Arthure*, l. 350; so, l. 429.

140. Wyes of Westwale: *cp.* 'Wyes of the Westfale', *ibid.*, l. 2826; 'The wyese of the Westuale', l. 2656; 'Alle Westwale of werre he wynnys', l. 621.

141. Of Ynglonde, of Yrlonde, Estirlynges full many: perhaps the earliest instance of Easter-lings, *i.e.* Hanseatic merchants, in English. According to *NED.*, 'the word seems not to be found as English before the sixteenth century'; but this is not so; it occurs in *Libel of English Policie*, c. 1425 (T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, vol. ii, p. 169). The line means 'Hansemen many of England and Ireland', *i.e.* many German merchants in England and Ireland. The Hanseatic merchants held a strong position in Ireland.

All the foreign merchants have evidently come to England for the purpose of 'winning', and the reference gains point in view of the generous and easy policy of Edward III towards merchant-strangers.

144-8. **thre bulles**: MS. *bibulles*. The scribe has evidently improved on the poet, whose device for the Pope was obvious. Perhaps the scribal change was deliberate, in order to suggest theological learning. The cord attached to each bull, 'sealed with a heavy seal', further describes the characteristic device.

As regards the Pope referred to, *vide* Preface.

149. The lawyers' banner has 'a bend of green'; *cp.*

'Vche burne of þe broþer-hede a bauderyk schulde haue,

A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryȝt grene.'

Gawayne, l. 2516.

Evidently Scharshull and the other 'beryns one the bynches', *cp.* ll. 314-18, are in the poet's mind, as representing the lawyers. The device of 'thre hadis white-herede with howes one lofte' suggests the 'serjeaunts atte lawe', with their coifs. But, while in *Gawayne* the 'bend of green' is associated with some great order, here the reference is to that oppressive source of casual revenue (profitable to the lawyers as a class) known as 'the Green Wax' (see *Preface*); *cp.* C. Vernon, *Considerations for regulating the Exchequer* (1642); T. Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (1769); F. S. Thomas, *Ancient Exchequer*, 1848, Hubert Hall, *The Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* (1898).

154. **flyttinge**, *i. e.* 'flyting', legal argument, discussion, without reference to the ordinary sense of vituperation.

155. **his frende**, *i. e.* Waster, the lawyers' best friend.

157. **With sexe gale[g]s**: MS. *galeys*. The scribe, puzzled by the rare word 'galegs', *i. e.* galoshes or shoes, has transformed the Franciscans' device into galleys; see *Preface*.

158. **iche one has a brown brase**: each galosh had a brown strap.

159. **þat sayen alle schall fey worthe**, who say all men are about to die, *i. e.* that the end of the world is near.

161-2. The poet seems to suggest that these Franciscans were mere mercenaries; the Genoese mercenaries were notorious.

163. **[es]**: MS. *was*.

164. **With bothe the brerdes of blake**, *i. e.* with the two border-lines of black, the border running round the banner, and the border of the scutcheon placed within the banner.

bal[l]e: MS. *balke*. The 'll' in the MS. from which the scribe copied had probably a mark linking the two letters, easily read as 'lk', as in many instances (*cp.* Dr. Henry Bradley, *Athenæum*, May 23, 1903).

166. **When moste [es] þ^e ma[z]e**: MS. When it hase moste of þ^e maye.

'Ma[z]e' was probably so written that the long 'z' was taken as 'y', and then the line was emended to make some sort of sense, resulting in what seems to be nonsense.

þ^e maze = midsummer madness, *i. e.* when midsummer madness is greatest, at Midsummer Eve.

167. **Th[ynkes]**: MS. *that was*; *cp.* 153.

The arms suggest Dominican pride, and I very much doubt whether there is any reference, as has been suggested, to any specific arms

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borne by the Order. The author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* has much to say concerning the ostentation of these 'prechoures' (*cp. P. P. Crede*, ll. 153-267; 352-81).

169. *cp.* 'we ben proued þe priis of popes at Rome', *ibid.*, l. 256.

174-7. There seems to be some confusion here, for the Carmelites and not the Augustines were 'Maries men'; *cp.*

'þei makeþ hem Maries men, (so þei men tellen),

And lieþ on our Ladie many a long tale', etc.

ibid., ll. 48-97.

'[We Karmes] lyven by our Lady and lelly hir seruen,

In clene comun life kepen vs out of synne;

Nowt proude as Prechours bep', etc.

ibid., ll. 384-6.

The Augustines, or Austin Friars, wore black, with a leathern girdle; the Carmelites were called 'the White Friars', from their white dress over a dark brown tunic. The 'belts of black' on the banner of the Carmelites, l. 182, ought to have been on the banner of the Augustines (*cp. Athencæum*, May 23, 1903), but I cannot believe that the poet made so serious a blunder as to confuse the two Orders, and in view of the extreme carelessness of the present MS. I suggest that ll. 176 and 186 have been transposed. I have restored them to their respective places.

175. three bore-hedis: a common heraldic sign; *cp. Libeaus Desconus*, l. 1657, *ed. E. Kölbing*.

177. [ledes]: MS. ordire.

182. With beltys of blake, etc. This is the device on the standard; these friars, who are evidently very careful about their personal appearance, use their girdles as strops.

183. pendant[s]: MS. pendant.

The points of the belts were rounded off, there were no pendants,

'And all the leather that hangs down, emblazoned on the banner,

Shines by the sharpening of the shaving-iron, *i. e.* the razor.'

185. schynethe for: MS. schynethe alle for.

187. kn[o]we: MS. knewe.

188. see: MS. seghe.

189-90. Someþ witenesse of wolle, and some of wyne-tounnes,

[&] o[þer] merchandes merke[s] so many and so thikke, etc.

MS. 'Some of witenesse . . .

Some of merchandes merke,' etc.

The poet means to say, 'Some (of the emblems) tell of wool, and some of wine-tuns: and here are other merchant-marks, so many and so densely crowded, that I know not, etc.' The wool-merchants were no doubt represented by wool-packs (*cp. Costume on Brasses*, Herbert Druitt, pp. 201, 204, etc., and the wine-merchants by wine-casks (*ibid.*, p. 203).

A scribe has evidently misunderstood 'witenesse' as a noun, and misread 'oper' in the second line as 'of'; the sense was spoilt by the repetition of 'some', as the wool-packs and wine-casks were

merchant signs, and the speaker wished to refer to 'other merchant-signs'.

For 'merchants' marks' *cp.* 'merkes of marchauntes', *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, l. 177.

On the woollen industry, and its all-important place in the economic policy of Edward III's reign, *cp.* *The Economic History of England*, Chapter IX, by E. Lipson, 1915. On the wine trade there is a noteworthy chapter in Professor Unwin's *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, dealing more particularly with the wine trade with Gascony.

In Gower's *Mirour de l'omme*, 'Wool' is apostrophized as 'the goddess of merchants',—'O beautiful, O white, O delightful one, the love of you stings and binds so that the hearts who make merchandise of you are not able to disengage themselves from you,' etc. (Translated by A. R. Benham, *English Literature, A Source Book*, 1916, p. 251.)

Waster, in l. 250, makes Winner rich in wool.

193. After his long enumeration of the forces on Winner's side, the poet deals in a very summary fashion with those on the other side, Waster's followers.

194. bow[e]men: MS. bowmen.

197. broghte hedir, MS. hedir broghte.

200. fro: (?) from the moment when, as soon as; one would expect 'to', *i. e.* until.

201. wye, d[em]eth: MS. wyes, doeth.

Thare = it behoves; it behoves (*i. e.* it avails) neither wight to be wroth, to act as he purposes.

206. this fyve and twenty wyntere: *vide* Preface.

208. and [thay] bown: MS. and bown.

209. leue[n]: MS. leued.

211. henttis [pam] by: MS. henttis by.

212. welcome, heres: MS. welcomes heres; *cp.* 'Welcom̄, wye', *Wars of Alex.*, l. 2302. 'Here' = master, lord, man; *cp.*

'(Happye) is þe here in no hate lengis,

Ne letis bele in his brest wherof bale rises'.

Alliterative Troy Book, l. 1432;

"'Here at hond is þat hery", the hend to hym saide:

þen he gird to þe gome with a grym swerde.'

ibid., l. 13573.

213. aske[de]: MS. asks.

215. it sowede† bothe myn eghne: MS. sowrede. The scribe did not know the obscure word 'to sow', usually with 'sore', *cp.*

'And when he sotted my syghte, than sowed myn hert,'

Parlement of the Thre Ages, l. 286;

'When he sailed in þe Swin it sowed him sare,' *Minot*, v. 12;

'Soure suld him sowe, bot he þe cite zeld'

(B. saire suld he sike, bot he þe cite zelde),

Wars of Alex., l. 2313.

217. full: *cp.* l. 367. This first occurrence of the refrain may give the correct form, though 'fille in', l. 281, suggests 'fille' as possibly the poet's word also here; the scribe may have missed the

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meaning of 'fille', and written 'full' as an intensive adverb. On the other hand, 'fulle' is a variant of 'fille'; *cp.*

'In couenaunt that Clement schulde the cuppe fulle',
Piers Plowman, A. V. 184 (B. fille, C. fylle).

[Fitt II.]

223. l[e]des: MS. lordes; *cp.* l. 54, and 'wordes' for wedes, l. 420.

225. littill-whattis: the ordinary phrase in Middle English is either (1) 'a littill what', *i. e.* a small portion or quantity, or (2) 'littles what', or 'what littles', little or nothing, a trifling quantity; the latter is rather earlier in date than the former. Possibly our poet wrote 'littles what'.

h[e]m: MS. hym.

227. when [I] gadir: MS. when gadir.

232. I pryke and I pryne, *i. e.* I pin and I sew up.

233. *cp.* ll. 368-74.

236. The deuyll wounder† the wele, MS. 'the deuyll wounder one the wele'. Evidently the scribe did not understand the idiom, and made 'wonder' a verb. 'The deuyll wounder' = nowise wondrous (*cp.* l. 487) (with adjectival use of 'wonder'); so that 'the deuyll wounder' = 'the deuyll a wounder' = 'devil a wonder'!

237. Bot hungere: *cp.*

"Nou be the peril of my soule", quath Pers the plouh-mon,

"I schal a-peiren ow alle for oure proude wordes!"

And hoped aftur Hunger tho, that herde him atte furste:

"A-wrek me on this wastors", quod Pers, "that this world schendeth!"

Hongur in haste hente Wastor bi the mawe,' etc.

Piers Plowman, A. vii. 157.

heghe ho[r]ses: MS. howses; the phrase is perhaps a reminiscence of the *Debate of the Body and the Soul*; *cp.*

'Thow that were woned to ride hey3e (printed 'heyre') on horse in and out', p. 334, l. 9.

Poems of Walter Mapes, ed. T. Wright, *Camden Society*, 1841.

The description of Waster should be compared with that of Youth in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ll. 109-93, and especially 'a hathelle on aue heghe horse', l. 111, and the words of Middle Age, ll. 183-93, who corresponds in many respects to Winner in the present poem.

248. went, *i. e.* turned about; *cp.*

'Bot walwyb & wyndip: & waltrep a-boute.'

The Siege of Jerusalem, 732.

For 'wyndip' the other MSS. read 'wendith', 'wrythis', 'turned'.

254. 'Some [scholde] rote, some ruste', etc.: MS. some rote; *cp.* 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt'; *Matthew* vi. 19.

264. tho[u]: MS. tho.

266. [wraxl]inge, wyntt[e]res: MS. playinge, wynttres.

267. angarte [of] pryde: MS. angarte pryde; *cp.*

'for angardez pryde', *Gawayne*, l. 681;

'thurgh angard of pride', *Allit. Troy Book*, l. 9745.

268. to wasschen thyn handes, *i.e.* in which your hands may dip. It looks at first sight as if the poet were playing upon 'wele' = wealth, and 'welle' = well.

270. ry[c]hely: MS. ryhely.

275. For, *i.e.* against.

with [cleng]and[e] frostes: MS. gleterand; the alliteration of the line requires a word beginning with 'c'; *cp.* 'for be forst clenged', *Gawayne*, l. 1694.

276. Sythen dropeles drye in the dede monethe, *i.e.* after (?and then) the dropless drought in the barren months.

277. thou wolle [te] to: MS. wolle to.

the tauerne by-fore p^e toune-hede: *i.e.* the tavern outside the upper end of the town; in 'the skirts o' the town'; the reference is to one of the taverns of ill fame, beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities, corresponding to the Elizabethan houses 'in the suburbs':—

'Dwell I but in the suburbs
Of your good pleasure? If it be no more,
Portia is Brutus' harlot, not his wife.'

Julius Caesar, II. i. 285-7.

The poet seems to have some particular locality, and possibly some special tavern, in his mind, and the reference is obviously to London, though the term 'town-head' belongs to the northern districts. 'Townsend' (preserved in the surname) would have been the lower end of the city, near Thames Street, where 'Townsend Lane' is still to be found; but I have failed to discover any trace of 'town-head' or 'town's head' in London. It would appear that 'town-head' was the upper extremity; 'town-end' the lower part, and 'town-gate', the main road or thoroughfare of a town or village; 'down town' signified towards the town-end, 'up town' towards the town-head. The poet is probably thinking of some locality near Shoreditch, or Finsbury.

NED. records 'town-head', but gives no quotation; *EDD.* refers the word to Northumberland, Lakeland, and North-West Derbyshire. It is found also in Cumberland and other Northern as well as Scottish districts. There is an interesting instance of the word in one of the versions of the Scottish ballad of 'The Earl of Errol':—

'She was na in att the toun-end,
Nor yett sa far awa,
Till Earell he was att her back,
His goudy lokes to sha.
She was na in att the toun-head,
Nor just att the eand,
Till Earell he was att her back,
Her earent for to ken.'

Child's *English and Scotch Ballads*, V. 267.

The Skene MS. version, taken down from recitation, reads 'loan-head' for 'town-head'. Child glosses the word 'centre or principal part of the town'; but this misses the meaning.

281. Florence to schewe, *i.e.* 'for Florence to appear'; '&, lo,

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Florence is there!' 'Florence' was evidently a popular name for a wanton woman. *NED.* quotes from *Dictionary of Canting Crew*, before 1700, 'Florence, a wench that is touz'd and ruffled.' *EDD.* gives 'florence, to go about untidily, slovenly dressed', and 'Amy Florence' (now nearly obsolete, and not known to correspondents) as a Northamptonshire term for 'any female loosely, untidily, and tawdrily dressed'. The present instance is very noteworthy. Evidently 'Amy' in the phrase quoted is *F. amie*.

In *Piers Plowman* we have 'Claryce of Cockeslane', and 'Purnel of Flaundres' (C. VII. 366-7) in the tavern-scene described in 'Confessio Gulæ'.

282. 'Wee hee', and 'worthe vp': wee-hee, the neighing of a horse, *cp.* 'Ech man neizede to the wyf of his neizbore', *Jeremiah* v. 8 (Wycliffite version). In *Piers Plowman*, B. VII. 91, occurs a passage similar to the present. Professor Skeat's note on C. V. 20 gives references to other instances of the word, and its significance.

283. fore: probably added by the scribe.

286. And for-thi god laughte that he louede and leuede atþ oper

Iche freke one felde ogh þe ferdere be to wirche,

Teche thy men for to tille, etc.

I am inclined to suggest that the poet may have written 'and for-thi god lacches (or wile lacche) that he loues and leues þat oper'. Some scribe, not understanding the passage, or more probably erroneously referring it to the story of Cain and Abel, forgetting that Cain was a tiller of the ground, has changed the present tenses into the past. I take the reference to be to *Matthew* xxiv. 40 (or *Luke* xvii. 35)—'Tunc duo erunt in agro: unus adsumetur et unus relinquetur'; *adsumetur* translates *παράλαμβάνεται*; Wycliffe, 'shal be taken to'; Tyndale, 'shalbe receaved'; Authorised Version, 'shall be taken'; Revised 'is taken'. So, too, the poet (if my theory is correct) used the present for the future.

'lacches' would be an excellent rendering of *adsumetur*, with the idea of 'taking to one's self', and happily connects itself etymologically with the Homeric *λάζομαι*, used as *λαμβάνω*, the variant roots of the two words having become blended in Greek (*cp.* *Prellwitz, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*).

one felde, suggested by 'in agro'. In *Matthew* the Parable of the Talents exemplifies 'the Signs of the Coming', to which our author refers, and he applies the Parable by stating that 'each one ought to be readier at work in the field'; *cp.* *Piers Plowman*, A. VII. 218-33; B. VI. 233-48; C. IX. 238-59,—

'Ac he that was a wrecche ' and wolde nat trauayle,

The lord, for hus lacchesse ' and hus luther sleuthe,

By-nom hym al that he hadde,' etc.

But it is to be noted that there is a special application to tillage—'in agro' being taken literally, with an homiletic reference to *Genesis* iii. 19. *Cp.*

'Go to Genesis the leaunt engendrure of vs alle;
In sudore and swynk thou schalt thi mete tilie;
 (*Piers Plowman*, A. VII. 219.)

Waster, however, is not called upon to till; his duty is 'to teach his men to till', as becomes 'a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household', and not 'to eat and drink with the drunken' (*Matthew* xxiv. 44-51).

There was also, no doubt, a very practical application to the economic conditions of 1352. Increased tillage was the pressing problem of the time. *The Statute of Labourers*, in the previous year, had attempted to deal with the question of labour, disorganized by the ravages of the Black Death, social changes, and especially by war conditions. It is the problem of the present day. The Prime Minister, in a speech delivered to the Chairmen of County War Agricultural Committees on Dec. 21, 1917, made a stirring appeal to landowners—'Land is life to the nation now, land is victory to Great Britain now; therefore, the man who stands on his land and does not cultivate it now is guilty of treason. Deal relentlessly with men who do not make the best of the land, because they are robbing the people of food, and they are robbing the nation of victory.' (*The Times*, Dec. 22, 1917, p. 4.)

288. *ty[n]en*: MS. *tymen*; probably here used in the sense of 'to repair the fences' rather than 'to enclose'. *Cp.*

'He's i' th' feilt wi' the men, tinin' hedges'

(*EDD. sub tine*).

289. *Rayse vp*, etc.; Waster's property was evidently in a dilapidated condition; he is urged by Winner to restore his rent-houses.

ryme vp thi yerdas, i.e. clear up thy gardens, clear away the accumulated rubbish due to long neglect; 'vp' intensive, as in 'tidy up', 'clear up'; OE. *rȳman*, to make roomy, to extend, to clear of obstructions; ME. *rimen*, *rumen*, *roumen*; *cp.* *aroint* = OE. *gerȳm* 8ū, get out of the way! *EDD.* gives 'to rim household' = to remove the furniture from one house to another, a Warwickshire phrase.

290-4. *Owthere hafe as þou haste done*, etc. In the first instance the poet is evidently recalling *Matthew* xxv. 30, 'And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness', but in specifying 'the worse that is to follow' he identifies Waster with Babylon, as one of those who have 'lived deliciously' with her, and he transfers to Waster the fate that was to befall the Scarlet Woman—'Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire' (*Revelation* xviii. 8, 9). This perhaps explains the words in ll. 291-92,—

'first þe faylynge of fode, and than the fire aftir,

To brene the alle at a birre.'

(*Cp. Vulgate*, 'mors, et luctus, et fames, et igne comburetur.' Was 'to brene the alle at a birre' perhaps an intentional echo of 'igne comburetur'?)

'Death and mourning' are not mentioned. The Black Death of 1349 and the tribulation caused thereby were calamities of too recent

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a date; they belonged to the immediate past, and their effects were obvious.

292. *The more colde es to come*, *i. e.* even greater cold than we have at present. This looks like an allusion to the bitter frost from December 1352 to March 1353. If this is so, the poet was writing during these months. This is about the time which other evidence tends to fix for the date of composition. The manner in which this last line in the *Fit* is added is very striking, and, although it is noteworthy that a famine followed from March to July, the allusion to 'the failing of food' may well be merely to 'famines' of *Revelation*. If so, Winner's words received striking confirmation. On the other hand, the prophecy may be after the event. 'This prophecy Merlin shall make; for I live before his time.' On the whole I conclude that the poet wrote during the terrible long, hard and cold Winter, which endured with extremest Rigour from the 6 of *December* till the 12 of *March*' (Barnes, *Life of Edward III.*, p. 468).

296-9. *Cp. Matthew* xix. 21; so, too, ll. 256-8.

300-1. *Cp. P. P. Crede*, ll. 113-22.

302. *se[w]es*: MS. *sees*; *i. e.* prosecutes at law. The scribe has either accidentally omitted 'w' or 'u', or understood it as meaning 'sees' with 'maken' in the next line as infinitive.

304. *myndale*: *i. e.* mind-ale, an ale-drinking or feast in memory of a person; the word is not elsewhere recorded; *cp.* *bridal* = bride-ale, *i. e.* bride-feast; 'there were leet-ales, scot-ales, church-ales, clerk-ales, bid-ales, and bride-ales' (Skeat). As to 'mynd', *cp.* 'mind-day', the day on which a person's death was commemorated; 'month's mind', or 'month mind', the service in memory of the deceased a month after the funeral.

310. *Cp.* 'As wel fastyngdaies as Frydaies and heye-feste euenes', *Piers Plowman*, C. VII. 182.

311. *his fere one the ferrere syde*, *i. e.* Saturday; *cp.*

'Lechour seide "allas!", and to vr ladi criede

To maken him han merci for his misdede,

Bitwene god almihti and his pore soule,

With-that he schulde the Seterday seuen 3er after

Drinken bote with the doke, and dynen bot ones';

ibid., A. V. 54-8.

The Saturday fast was kept in honour of the Virgin, whose votive mass was said on Saturday.

314. *And thies beryns one the bynches*, with [biggins] one *lofte*: MS. *howes*; *cp.* l. 150. The scribe did not understand the text, and for some strange word beginning with 'b' wrote 'howes'. I suggest 'biggins' as the right reading—an excellent word for the 'coif', which resembled the 'biggin' or child's cap, or night-cap. The earliest instance of this use in *NED.* is under the year 1639:

'Ha' made him barrister

And rais'd him to his satin cap and biggon.'

City Match, IV. vii;

and the earliest instance quoted in the sense of 'a child's cap' is from

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Palsgrave, 1530; Shakespeare's 'he whose brow with homely biggen bound' (for night-cap), 2 *Henry IV*, iv. v. 27, is readily recalled. The word was derived from OF. *beguin*, a coif tied under the chin, worn by the *béguines*, certain lay sisterhoods founded in the Low Countries in the twelfth century by a priest called Lambert Bègue or le Bègue, *i. e.* the Stammerer. In *The Romaunt of the Rose* occur the following lines:

'And Dame Abstinence-Streynd
Toke on a robe of kamelyne,
And gan hir graithe as a Bygynne.
A large coverchief of threde
She wrapped all aboute hir heede.' ll. 7364-8.

From all this it may be safely inferred that 'biggin' was used in English as early as the middle of the fourteenth century in the sense of 'coif', although no other early instance is recorded than the possible occurrence in the present passage.

317. *itwiste*: MS. (?) *it wiste* (for the form *cp. itwix, betwyste*); *i. e.* between them, in the midst of them; *cp. Dr. Henry Bradley's* suggested emendation, in *Athenæum*, April 18, 1903.

Concerning Scharshull, *vide* Preface.

321-3. Perhaps a reference to the Rich Young Man of the Gospel.

321. *es sothe*: MS. *es full sothe*.

322. *ranke wele*, *i. e.* abundant wealth.

The more hauande þat he hathe, the more of hert feble, *i. e.* the more that he hath worth-having, the more is he feeble of heart; 'hauande'; *cp. ONorw. havande*, in the sense of 'worth-having' (*Aasen's Norsk Ordbog*). This use of the word is nowhere recorded in English, and is evidently due to Scandinavian influence; *cp. OE. hæfen*, property, riches; *hæfen-lēas*, poor.

The line is probably a paraphrase of 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also'; hence, the poet's 'þat sayde es full zore'.

326. [thou weryed]: MS. 'this wrechide', evidently caught from two lines above; perhaps we should read 'this' for 'that'. 'Lo! thou cursed waster, this everywhere is known'—(introducing the statements that follow).

329. *ow[es]*: MS. *owthe*.

330. [thou]: MS. *he*. The scribe, having erroneously interpreted and changed l. 326, alters the pronoun in this passage.

332-61. Waster's extravagant menu should be compared with Arthur's banquet to the ambassadors from Rome, *Allit. Morte Arthure*, ll. 176-215. Concerning ancient cookery, *cp. Antiquitates Culinarie*, by Richard Warner, 1791; *Liber Cure Cocorum*, ed. Richard Morris, *Philological Society*, 1862; *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*, ed. Thomas Austin, *E.E.T.S.* 91, 1888.

The literary history of the menu which forms the basis of Waster's feast can be traced back as far as the treatise of Walter de Bibbesworth, *fl.* 1270; *cp. Volume of Vocabularies*, ed. Thomas Wright, vol. i, p. 173, and *Femina*, ed. W. Aldis Wright, p. 81.

332. [bayes]: MS. *plontes*; *cp.*

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'The boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary',
the traditional song sung at Queen's College, Oxford (*Ancient English Christmas Carols*, ed. Edith Rickert, Chatto and Windus, 1910, p. 259).

337. *doke*: portion, share; not elsewhere recorded in this sense.

338. *nedles note*: *cp.* 'Bot al watȝ nedles note', *Patience*, 220.

340-1. *quarter[e]d swannes*,

Tartes of ten ynche; *MS.* *quarterd*; *cp.*

'Grett swannes fulle swythe in silueryne chargeoures,

Tartes of Turkey;

Morte Arthure, 185-6.

345. *Martynmesse mete*: *cp.* 'Martinmas beef', *i. e.* the meat of an ox salted at Martinmas.

348. [3]e: *MS.* *he*; *cp.* l. 352.

349. *Barnakes and buturs*: *cp.* 'Bernakes and botures', *Morte Arthure*, 189.

352. [3owe]: *MS.* *hym.* The *MS.* reading is evidently due to the error of 'he' for '3e' in l. 348.

353-60. The letters and words in brackets are purely conjectural the *MS.* has been torn away; *cp.* *Textual Notes*.

354. [Daryo]is and dische-metis, *pat ful dere coste*: *cp.*

'With darielles endordide and daynteez ynewe';

Morte Arthure, 199.

355. [Mawme]ne: this conjectural reading is put forward, instead of 'marchpane' (originally suggested), for which the space in the *MS.* is too small, and against which other reasons may be adduced. Moreover, the poet is evidently playing on the word when he adds, '3our mawes to fill' (*see Textual Notes*).

In *The Turnament of Totenham*, c. 1450 (*Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1866, vol. iii), there is a burlesque of these lavish feasts, ll. 235-336, and among other items of the feast described we have:—

'gryndulstones in gravy,
And mylstones in mawmany.'

ll. 262-3.

356. *Cp.* 'Ay two had disches twelue,
Good ber, & bryzt wyn bope';

Gawayne, l. 123.

at a merk: *cp.*

'pat pine to fynde þe place þe peple bi-forne
For to sette þe sylueren, þat sere sewes halden,
On clothe';

ibid., l. 123.

362. *scathed*: *MS.* *schathed*; the alliteration necessitates this change, though the form with 'sch' is not rare.

364. *But one[s] I herd in a haule of a herdmans tonge*: *MS.* *one*; *cp.* 'me by-tyde ones', l. 31.

Cp. 'I herde on a halyday at a hyȝe masse';

Patience, l. 9.

'In halydayes at holicherche whan ich herde masse.'

Piers Plowman, B. xiii. 84.

The reference seems to be to some specific writer or speaker; the 'herdman' suggests, at first sight, Amos.

365. 'Better were meles many þan a mery nyghte': evidently an Old English proverb, though the nearest form I have been able to find is 'Better are meales many than one too merry', which occurs in Heywood's *Dialogue conteynynge the number of the effectuall proverbes in the Englishe Tounge*, etc. (1562).

'Leaue this (quoth she) & learne liberalitee,

To stynt stryfe, growne by your prodigalitee.

Oft said the wise man, whom I erst did bery,

Better are meales many than one to mery.

Well, (quoth he) that is answered with this, wife,

Better is one monthes cheere, than a churles hole lyfe.'

Spenser Society's Reprint, p. 68.

366. forthe[r]: MS. forthe; *cp.* l. 216.

[FITT III]

369. [a lite] 3eris: MS. fewe 3eris, 'a lite' = a few, *cp.* 'a lite grotes', *Liber Cocorum*, c. 1420 (*NED*).

370. Th[en] þe pure†: MS. Thurgh þe poure. The reading of the MS. makes it difficult to construe l. 373, though 'thurgh' effectively links ll. 369-72.

372. [pat it]: MS. &.

373. for wanhope in erthe: *i. e.* for despair at plenty; 'erthe' = OE. ierþ, crop, produce. Hence 'in erthe', far from being a mere unnecessary phrase, an unpoetical repetition of the last word of l. 371, is essential.

'Erthe' is a different word from the ordinary 'earth'. Its first sense is the act of earing or ploughing, tilling; produce of arable land; and so 'crop.' It is used technically in books on husbandry: *cp.*

'Nowe cicera the blake is sowe in season

On erthes tweyne or oon sowe hem as peson;'

Palladius, E.E.T.S. 52, 1873, p. 106, ll. 67-8.

The ON. arðr, a plough, is used in Icelandic similarly in the sense of produce.

373-4. *CP.* 'Here's a farmer, that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty'; *Macbeth*, II. iii. 5.

'Each Muck-worme will be rich with lawlesse gaine,

Although he smother vp mowes of seuen yeares graine,

And hang'd himself when corne grows cheap again;'

Hall's *Satires*, Bk. IV, Sat. 6.

In the year 1354 corn was so abundant and cheap that the Commons addressed a petition on the subject, in so far as labour was affected thereby (*Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 261).

377. **pedders in towns**, *i. e.* villages, hamlets; *cp.*

'A poure Persoun of a town . . .

Wyð was his parisshe and houses fer a-sonder,'

Chaucer, *Prolog.* 478, 491.

378-81. With these lines *cp.* *Piers Plowman*, B. VI. 282-312; Peres has no 'salt bacoun'; but as for 'the laboreres'

'May no peny-ale hem paye' ne no pece of bakoun,

But if it be fresch flesch other fische' fryed other bake,

And that *chaude* or *plus chaud* 'for chylling of her mawe.'

386. [fr]ete: MS. ete.

390. 'Who so wele schal wyn, a wastour moste he fynde': evidently a Middle English proverb, though I cannot find another instance; but in the German folk-tale, preserved by Ludwig Bechstein (*Deutsches Märchenbuch*, 1846), entitled 'Bruder Sparer und Bruder Verthuer', *i. e.* Brother Winner and brother Waster, I find 'Sparer muss einen Verthuer haben', *i. e.* 'a Winner must have a Waster', given specifically as an old German proverb.

395. [pat]: MS. &.

396. in a wale tyme = in quick time. This sense of the adjective is illustrated by:—

'Pare suld my folk for defaute be famyscht for euire,

And worthe in a wale quile to wricchis as 3our-selfe!'

Wars of Alexander, 4596-7.

The same use of the phrase is also found in *Wars of Alexander*, ll. 2018, 2261, 4772.

It would seem that this word is not the same in origin as 'wale' = choice, fit. In the northern dialects, to wale = to be quick over anything; *cp.* *EDD. sub* Wale. But there is no indication in the modern dialects of the use of the word as an adjective. In E. Frisian, 'walen' = to turn round, and this word gives the root idea of the many words found in English and the other dialects; *cp.* Goth. walus, a staff; OE. walu, a weal; ON. völr, a round stick, valr, round. 'Wale', applied to time, may originally have meant 'quickly revolving', hence 'quick'.

The familiar epithet 'wale' often found with 'ithes', waves, should be referred to the present use, in the sense of 'moving'; *cp.* G. welle, wave. It is noteworthy that we find 'þe rough ythes', evidently synonymous with 'þe wale ythes', is found in Allit. *Troy Book*, l. 11869. If so, wale stremes, 460, = swift currents; *cp.* l. 42.

399. MS. defective.

400. For to s[chadewe] 3our sones: MS. for to saue to 3our sones; the text is clearly corrupt, 'saue' being caught up from the next line.

405. Probably '[To] bryng'. broð[e]: letter covered by a blot.

407. sett & solde, *i. e.* let, or leased, and sold. The earliest quotation for 'set' in this sense in *NED.* is dated 1422 (*cp.* set, § 57); the fuller phrases appear to be 'to set in feu, in feu ferm, in lease, tack'.

408-14. 'Wasted all wilfully to please your wives.

They who formerly had lords in the land and ladies rich,

(*i. e.* they who formerly were the servants of lords and ladies),

Now are they wantons of the new fashion, so daintily attired,
With long trailing sleeves, reaching to the ground,
Bordered all around with ermine about;
Whom, I trow, it is as hard to handle in the dark,
As an artless simple wench who never had worked silk.'

408. waste[d]: MS. wastes.

410. nysottes of þ^e new gett: wantons of the new fashion; *cp.*
'a gay wenche of the newe jet,'

Poem on the times of Edward II, l. 118 (*Political Songs of England*,
ed. Thomas Wright, *Camden Society*, 1839).

nysottes: the only instance of the word in *NED.* is from Skelton's
Magnificencè, 1526—

'Where I spy a nysot gay,
That wyll syt ydyll all the day.'

411. [si]de: MS. elde.

The satirist in Edward II's reign exclaimed—

'For pride hath sleve, the land is almuses,'

i. e.

Because pride hath sleeves, the land is without alms.

Political Songs, ed. Thomas Wright, p. 255.

In *Richard the Redeles*, III. 152, we read—

'But if the slevis slide on the erthe,

Thei will be wroth as the wynde ' and warie hem that it
made;

And [but] ȝif it were elbowis ' adoun to the helis,

Or passinge the knee : it was not accounted.'

Chaucer's Parson in his denunciation of Pride deals with 'super-
fluitee of clothinge' in men and women; *Persones Tale*, § 27.

412. Ourlede all vmbtourne: *i. e.* bordered all around; *cp.* 'euesed
al vmbe-torne', clipped all around, *Gawayn*, 184.

'al vmbtourne', an adverbial phrase; *cp.* vmbygon, vmby-gone,
ll. 118, 62; her [h]ere [h]eke al hyr vmbe-gon (*i. e.* her hair also all
about her), *Perle*, 210.

'vmbtourne' in its adverbial use has not been explained. We find
in OE. ymbtyrnan, to surround, tyrman, to turn, tyrngeat, a turnstile,
turnian, to revolve; and it would seem that the present word shows
the stem of this OE. word (ultimately derived from *L. tornāre*),
perhaps influenced by or coalescing with the OE. turner. At the
same time it is difficult to understand the formation 'vmbe-tourne',
i. e. turning about, going right around.

There evidently existed a parallel phrase found in *Ormulum*,
l. 17563, 'umbe-trin' = umbe-trind, around, where trind is an adjective,
cp. OFris. trind, trund, Dan., Swed. trind, MLG. trint, trent, round,
'umme trint', Du. omtrent, around, about. (*cp.* trend, trendle, trindle,
trundle; and OE. trinde, round lump; OE. trendel, circle.) May not
'umbe-tourne' be under the influence of 'turn', of the Scandinavian
'umbe-trin' = a remodelling of 'umbe trin[d]', or perhaps 'umbe
trun[d]', by metathesis 'umbe-tirn', 'umbe-turn'?

413. þat as harde es, I hope: MS. þat es as harde as I hope.

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414. *Cp.* 'And 3e, loueli ladies, with (3)oure longe fyngres,
That habbeth selk and sendel, souweth, whon tyme is,
Chesybles for chapeleyens, and churches to honoure.'

Piers Plowman, A. VII. 18-20.

The idea of the lines would lead one to expect 'werede' rather than 'wroghte'. 'Silk-work', embroidery, was one of the accomplishments of young ladies of position. Perhaps 'silly simple wenches' aped their betters', and the text may be correct.

415. *Bot who-so [lykes] luke† on hir†*: MS. 'But who-so lukes on hir lyre. The scribe has evidently made an attempt to make sense of a miswritten line, which is thus restored, with gain to syntax and rhythm, 'but, whoso liketh, look on her, our Lady of Heaven', etc.

420. *hir w[e]des wer pore*: MS. *wordes*; *cp.* II. 54, 223.

In *Lydgate's Life of Our Lady* the following lines occur:—

'Ye women all schuld take hede
With yor perles and yor ryche stonis bryght,
How that yor quene flowre of womonhed
Of no devyse embrowdyrd hath her wede
Ne forred with armyn nor with trysty gray
Ne martryn sable I trow in gud fay . . .
Lett be yowre pride and yowre affeccyon
Of ryche aray,' etc.

(*Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 114.)

421. *of siche*: of such-like.

422. *To*: MS. *for to*.

[*e]schewes*: MS. *ofte schewes*, a corruption of the original, helped perhaps by 'schewe' in the previous line. The scribe, having written 'schewes' for 'eschewes', attempted, it would seem, to give some sense by adding the word 'ofte'. *Cp.*

'Pouerte is the first poynte • that Pryde moste hateth;'

Piers Plowman, B. XIV. 279.

423. *p[is]*, [*werped*]: MS. *p^e*, *castes*.

428. *to fynde*, *i. e.* to provide for, to equip.

- 435-8. The MS. reading of this passage is as follows:

& 3e negardes appon nyghte 3e nappen so harde
Routten at 3our raxillyng raysen 3our hurdes
3e beden wayte one p^e wedir, þen very 3e p^e while
þat 3e nade hightilde vp 3our houses, & 3our hyne raysed.

The whole passage is evidently corrupt, and the reading in the text is the editor's attempt at a restoration of the lines, which seem to be an echo of *Ecclus.* xxxi. 1-2: 'Watching for riches consumeth the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep. Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep.'

436. *Cp.* 'Rasclod and remed and route at the laste';

Piers Plowman, C. VIII. 7.

437. *Beden 3e wayte*: MS. *3e beden wayte*; from time to time ye watch, etc. The scribe took 'beden' to be the verb, and transposed the words, not recognizing 'bedén', *adv.* anon, ever and anon.

438. [h]ade: MS. nade; the scribe, misunderstanding the whole passage, changed 'hade' into 'nade', and made nonsense. Winner, in view of the bad weather, regrets that he has improved his property and given liveries to his servants.

Winner had urged Waster to 'raise up his rent-houses', l. 289.

hightilde: *cp.* hight, to adorn; of doubtful origin, but perhaps connected with OE. hyht, hope, expectation, gladness. The present form, with the diminutive suffix, is found in *Cleanness*, 1290, and *The Wars of Alexander*, 1541, 4969, etc. The additional adverb 'vp' is evidently intensive. Its use is characteristic of the poet.

440, etc. *Cp.*

'And thou with wandrynge and woo schalte wake for thi gudes,
And be thou doluen and dede, thi dole schall be schorte,
And he that thou leste luffes schall layke him there-with,
And spend that thou haste haste sparede, the deuyll spede hym
ells!'

Parlement of the Thre Ages, ll. 257-60.

442. w[a]re, MS. were; those that thou wishest should hold it.

444. *Cp.* *Matthew* xxv. 41-6.

445. pou tast [no] tent one a tale: the scribe has, I think, omitted 'no'. The reference is evidently to the Parable of the Rich Man, Luke xii. 16-21. The parable further suggests a reference to Matt. vi. 24-34, in the lines that follow, 'I hold hym madde', etc., i. e. I hold him mad that worries painfully to win his competence.

446. mak[ande] to: MS. make for to; *cp.* *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 278, text A. reads 'makande', B. 'make',—

'And affir irkede me with this and ese was me leuere,

Als man in his medill elde his makande wolde haue.

Than I mukkede and marlede and made vp my howses,' etc.

Parlement of the Thre Ages, ll. 277-9.

447. hi[t], hi[t], hi[t]: MS. hir, hir, hir.

449-51. 'For whoso may live longest chances to fetch

Wood that he shall waste, to warm his heels,

Further than his father did by fifteen miles.'

Waster argues in favour of a short and merry life; the longer you live, the more timber you will use up for fuel, and in your old age you will have to send a long way—fifteen miles further than your father did—for the wood to be wasted merely in getting yourself warm.

Possibly 'waste' has connotations with the technical use of 'waste' for unallowed appropriation of timber; *cp.* 'escricpe or waste', *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, ed. Andrew Clarke, E.E.T.S. Original Series, 149, p. 205, l. 17. *Vide* article 'Waste' in the *Law Dictionaries*.

454. [herte]: not in MS.

457. bro[p]e worde[s]: MS. brode worde; *cp.*

'þat oþer burne watz abayst of his brope wordez.'

Cleanness, l. 149.

461. to p^e Pope of Rome, at Avignon.

461-5. This reference to the luxury of the cardinals and the papal court would apply to Clement VI, who died on December 6, 1352, but

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hardly to his successor, Innocent VI (1352-62), who strongly opposed the methods in vogue for raising money.

468-73. MS. defective.

468. *he*, *i. e.* Waster.

471. [failes]: MS. happyns; the line is very doubtful.

[to strecche]; *cp.*

‘in-wyth not a fote,

To strecch in þe strete pou hatz no vygour.’

Perle, 970-1.

472. won[ne]: *cp.* wonnes, l. 249.

473. & wyng[es þer]-till: the bracketed letters are torn away. (?) ‘and wings thereto’, *i. e.* where wealth easily flies away; *cp.* ‘Riches certainly make themselves wings, they fly away, as an eagle toward heaven’; *Proverbs* xxiii. 5.

476. any ber[ande] pote[ner]: MS. any potet beryn. potet = poted = potēd = potend = potener (the contraction for *er* being easily mistaken for *d*) = pautener, OF. pautonniere, a bag, purse; *cp.* potewer, in *Boy and Mantle*, l. 21, *Percy Folio*, = poteuer, *cp.* *Sir Degree*, 866, *ibid.* (where *Auchinleck* MS. reads ‘aumener’). ‘Any berande potener’ = any one bearing a purse, *cp.* ‘berebag’, probably ‘bag-bearer’, opprobriously applied by Minot to the Scotch. The reference, if my emendation is correct, is to the ‘gipsier’, or purse suspended ostentatiously from the girdle, an encouragement not only to outpurses, but also to idle Wasters in search of Gulls.

‘potet beryn’ represents an attempt to make sense of ‘berande potet, or poted’.

477. to þ^e tonne, *i. e.* to the tun, cask. It looks as if it were the name of some particular inn. ‘The Tun’ in Cornhill was the name of a prison, and as such is often referred to (see *Letter Books of the City of London*); *cp.* ‘þ^e chepe’, evidently = Chepe, *i. e.* Cheapside, l. 474; ‘the crete’, l. 479; ‘þ^e Pultrie’, l. 490.

479. to the crete: to the Crete, *i. e.* to the wine of Crete, a sweet wine often mentioned in the City Records of the period (see *Letter Books*, F, G, and references there given). At first sight the text suggests that ‘the Crete’ was an inn where this wine was specially sold.

480. Bred Strete: ‘the cooks of Bread Street’ are specially mentioned in the City Records (see *Letter Book* G, p. 332).

bikken [with] þi: MS. bikken þi.

487. þat fynd a peny: ‘fynd’ = fiend, *cp.* l. 236. *EDD.* quotes ‘fiend a penny’, Smith’s *Poems*, 1714; *cp.* ‘the devil a penny they have left me, but a bare pension,’ Marlowe’s *Faustus*, sc. vi. 157 (Temple Ed.). The phrase ‘þe deucl haf’ (= the devil a bit), *Patience*, l. 460, should be compared.

& put owte his eghe: *i. e.* and hoodwink him.

490. þ^e Pultrie: interesting references to the Poultry, and to poulterers and poultry, occur in *Letter Books* F, G, H.

492. henne[s], serue[d]: MS. henne, serue.

494. albus: the common form in ME. is ‘alp’; I can find no other instance of ‘alb’, though ‘awbe’, possibly the same word, occurs in

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Gascoigne's *Complaint of Philomene*, 'The tatling Awbe doth please some fancie wel', l. 35. Various dialect forms, 'olp, ope, awf, alf, ulf, hoop, mawp, nope, pope', are given in *EDD.*; *cp.*

'In many places were nyghtyngales,
Alpes, fynches, and wodewales.'

Romaunt of the Rose, ll. 657-8.

[p^o] o[sul]les: MS. pis oper foules,—evidently the scribe's substitution for something he did not understand: I conjecture some such original as 'pe oselles'.

egretes: an early instance of the word; the earliest example in *NED.* is dated 1411, from Rogers, *Agric. & Prices*, iii. 129/2, 'egrets, 4 at $\frac{1}{3}$ '. It is evidently the AF. form of OF. egrette, aigrette; *cp. Liber Albus*, p. 467.

496. I see no reason for changing 'wynnere' to 'wastoure', as has been suggested (*Athenaeum*, April 18, 1903). 'Watch for me' means that Winner is to remain in London till the King's departure; he could come to Paris from Avignon.

if þ^u wilt wele chese: 'if thou wilt choose out wealth'; or, perhaps, 'if thou wilt journey well, take a right course'; *cp.* 'Chese þ^e forthe in-to þ^e chepe', l. 474.

498. þ^e proude pale[y]s of Paris: MS. pales, *i. e.* the Louvre; *cp.*
'Of France was mekill wo, i-wis,
And in Paris þa high palays;'

Minot, vii. 165.

499. to do it in ded, (?) to put it into action, to carry it into effect; probably 'it' is a scribal addition, and the words may simply mean 'to do things really well'.

500. s[iluer]: the letters after the first are rubbed out.

503. þ^a kirke of Colayne þer þ^e kynges ligges: a reference to the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne Cathedral. Probably the poet wrote 'þer þ^e þre kynges ligges'; *cp.* 'The Three Kings of Cologne', an early English translation of *Historia Trium Regum* by John of Hildesheim, ed. by C. Horstmann (E.E.T.S. Original Series 85, 1886).

Edward III had the Three Kings in special reverence, and made offerings and prayed at the Shrine, notably in 1338, when he went to Coblenz to meet his brother-in-law the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, who invested him 'Vicar-general of the Empire in all the Germanies and in all the Allmaines'. The poet seems to imply that on the present occasion he would visit the Cathedral on setting out, and would offer thanksgiving there on the success of his enterprise.

GLOSSARY

a, *indef. art.* 11; **an**, 374; **ane**, 36; OE. *ān*.
aboute, around, 280, 412, 475; **abowte**, 249; OE. *onbūtan*.
aftir, according to, 429; *adv.* afterwards, 17, 133; **aftire**, behind, 207; OE. *æfter*.
agayne, against, 172; OE. *on-gegn*.
age, 120; OF. *aāge*.
albus = ME. *alpes*, bullfinches, 494.
all, *adj.* 162; **al**, 385; **alle**, *adv.* 60, 408; OE. *eall*.
all-pofe, although, 420; OE. *eall* + ON. **pōh*; *cp.* **pofe**.
als, **as**, 26, 32; **al[s]**, 55; **as**, 4; OE. *eallswā*.
amblande, **ambling**, 417; OF. *ambler*.
amonges, among, 136; OE. *on-gemang* + *-es*.
an, **ane**, *v. a.*
and, 1; **if**, 259; **&**, 211; OE. *and*.
angarte, boasting, arrogance, 267; *v. Note*.
anone, **anon**, 214; OE. *on ān*.
anoper, another, 116; OE. *ān ōðer*.
any, 56; OE. *ānig*.
appaire, *inf.* impair, 372; OF. *ampeirer*.
appon, on, upon, in, 14, 24, 66, 67, 497; **ppone**, 12; **vpon**, 70; OE. *uppan*.
[a]rayed, *pp.* equipped, 438; AF. *arayer*.
are, *v. or.*
are, **aren**, *v. be.*
Arestotle, 316.

armes, 193; OF. *armes*.
as, *v. als*.
aske[de], *pt.* 3 s. 213; OE. *āscian*.
assche, ash, 397; OE. *æsc*.
asse, 417; OE. *assa*.
at, 16; **amid**, 436; OE. *æt*.
attyred, *pp.* equipped, adorned, 203, 410; **attyrede**, 270; OF. *atirier*.
aughte, *v. owethe*.
Austyn, St. Augustine of Hippo, 316.
Austyns, Austin Friars, Augustinians, 186.
a-waye, gone, 183, 283; OE. *on weg*.
aye, ever, 227; **ay**, 372; ON. *ei*.
ayther, each, 202; **aythere**, 50, 459; OE. *æghwæðer*.
bachelere, a young knight following the banner of another, 328; OF. *bachelor*.
bacon, 379; **bakone**, 251; OF. *bacon*.
baken, *pp.* baked, 335; OE. *bačan*.
bakke, 114; OE. *bæc*.
bakone, *v. bacon*.
bale, *adj.* wicked, 292; *n.* pain, 357; OE. *bealu*.
bal[le], 164; ON. *böllr*.
banere, banner, 131, 143; company, 168; *pl.* **baners**, banners, 52; OF. *banere*.
bankes, *v. bonke*.
bare, *v. bere*.
barkes, bark of trees, 39; ON. *börkr*, *gen. s.* *barkar*.

- barme, bosom, 418; OE. bearm.
 barnakes, wild geese, 349;
 bernacles, 39; OF. bernaque
 (*with diminutive ending*).
 barne, child, 418; OE. bearn.
 barone, 328; OF. barun.
 batell, army, 105; OF. bataille.
 [bayes], 332; OF. baie.
 be, *inf.* 27, 201, 255; *ben*,
 298; *pr.* 3 s. *es*, 5, 19; *pl.*
are, 177; *aren*, 160; *ere*, 432;
bene, 29, 235, 258; *ben*, 433;
 3 s. *subj.* *be*, 147, 196, 478; *pt.*
 1 s. *was*, 46; 3 s. 1; *pl.* *were*,
 20; *wer*, 420; 3 s. *subj.* *were*,
 308, 343; *pl.* 98, 365; *pp.* *bene*,
 3; OE. *bēon*.
 be, *v.* *by*.
 bede-hede, bed's head, 239; OE.
 bedd, hēafod.
 beden[e], ever and anon, 437;
 (?) OE. *bi-dēne*.
 beefe, 379; OF. boef.
 be-fore, in front, 78; *by-fore*,
 207; in front of, 277; OE. *be-*
foran.
 begynnes, *pr.* 3 s. begins, 1 (*head-*
ing); OE. *beginnan*.
 be-hynde, 78; *by-hynde*, 10;
 OE. *behindan*.
 belte, 96, 187; *pl.* *beltys*, 182;
 OE. *belt*.
 be-lyue, quickly, 46; ME. *bi life*.
 bemys, tie-beams, 251; OE.
bēam.
 bende, heraldic 'bend', 149; OE.
 bend + OF. *bende*.
 benden, *pr.* 3 *pl.* bend, 251; OE.
bendan.
 bent, field, 105, 163; OE. *beonet*.
 berde, beard, 91; OE. *beard*.
 bere, *inf.* bear, 30; *pt.* 3 s. *bare*,
 93; *pp.* *borne*, 307; OE. *beran*.
 bernacles, *v.* barnakes.
 bery-brown, brown as a berry,
 91; OE. *berie*, *brūn*.
 be[ryinge-day], burial day, 470;
 OE. *byrgan* + *ing*, *dæg*.
 beryn, warrior, man, 101, 168;
 beryne, 278; *pl.* *beryns*, 214;
 OE. *beorn*.
 besantes (heraldic), roundels or,
 representing gold besants (so
 called because first struck at
 Byzantium, 61; *ynglysse b.*,
 probably = nobles; OF. *besan*.
 beste, beast, 73; *pl.* *bestes*, 79;
bestis, 385; OF. *beste*.
 be-syde, *prep.* beside, 36; *adv.*
 hard by, 138; *besyde*, in ad-
 dition, 170; OE. *be sīdan*.
 be-tyde, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* happen,
 204; *pt.* 3 s. *ind.* *by-tyde*, 31;
 OE. *be + tidan*.
 betyn, beaten, embossed, 61; OE.
bēatan.
 bid, *pr.* 1 s. command, 197; 3 s.
biddith, 101; *biddes*, asks for,
 239; *imp.* s. *bidd*, command,
 105; OE. *biddan*.
 bide, *pr.* 2 s. *subj.* remain, 470;
 OE. *bidan*.
 biggede, *pp.* built, 1; ON. *byggja*.
 [biggins], 314; *v.* *Note*.
 bikken, *imp.* s. beckon, 480; OE.
biecnan, late OE. *bēacnian*.
 billed, 349; OE. *bile*, *n*.
 billes, 39; OE. *bile*.
 birdes, 348; *byrddes*, 493; OE.
brid; O.Northumb. *bird*.
 birdes, ladies, 426; ? OE. *byrde*,
adj.
 birre, blow; at a b., at one blow,
 in an instant, 292; ON. *byrr*.
 blake, black, 143, 164; OE.
blæc.
 blasande, shining, 342; OE. *blase*,
n.
 ble, colour, 93, 96, 144; *blee*,
 156, 175; OE. *blēo*.
 blerren, *inf.* blear, 278; ? *cp.*
 MHG. *blêren*, *blerren*, to weep;
 LG. *blarr-oged*, *bleer-oged*.
 blesenande, bright, shining, mag-
 nificent, 168; *cp.* OE. *blæse*,
blysa, ON. *blys*, a torch.

GLOSSARY

- blewe, blue, 93; OF. bleu.
 blode, blood, spirit, 15, 194; OE. blōd.
 blussche, appearance, 187; ? OE. blyscan, *vb.*; *cp.* OE. āblisian.
 blynnēs, *imp. pl.* cease, 457; OE. blinnan.
 booled, *pp.* buckled, 182; buklede, 114; OF. boucle, *n.*
 [bodworde], message, 125; OE. bod + word.
 body, 114; OE. bodig.
 bokel[e]s, buckles, 158; OF. boucle.
 bolde, 105; OE. beald; OM. bald.
 bolle, bowl, cup, 278; *pl.* bolles, 214; OE. bolla.
 bone, 181; *pl.* bones, 111; OE. bān.
 bonke, bank, 33; *pl.* bankes, 41; ON. *banki, bakki.
 borde, board, table, 342; burde, 335; OE. bord.
 bore-hedis, boars' heads, 175; OE. bār, hēafod.
 bores hede, boar's head, 332.
 borne, *v.* bere.
 boste, *n.* boast, 15; AF. bost.
 boste, *inf.* boast, 241; AF. bost, *n.*
 bot, but, 18; but, 4; bott, only, 281; bot, 54; even, 357; except, 237; without, 7; unless, 485; bot if, 100; OE. būtan.
 bothe, 123; bothen, 212; ON. bāðir.
 botours, *v.* buturs.
 bott, *v.* bot.
 boun, *v.* bown.
 bourne, stream, 33; OE. burna.
 bowells, 357; OF. bouel.
 bow[e]men, 194; OE. boga, mann.
 bown, *pr. pl.* betake themselves, 208; *v. next word.*
 bown, ready, prepared, 52, 110, 431; bownn, 348; ON. būinn.
 bowndes, bands, bonds, 252; ON. band.
 boyes, varlets, knaves, 15; *cp.* EFrisk. boi.
 brake, *pt.* 3 s. broke, 121; *pp.* broken, 418; OE. brecan.
 brande, sword, 241; bronde, 239; *pl.* brandes, 431; OE. brand, brond.
 brase, brace, the portion of a suit of armour covering the arms, 158; *pl.* brases, 113; OF. brace.
 brauden, *pp.* woven, 113; brouden, 144; OE. brogden, *pp.* of bregdan; *cp.* brayden.
 braunche, branch, 121; OF. branche.
 braundesche, *inf. with reflex. pron.*, swagger, 241; *pt. sg.* [brawndeschet], brandished, 121; OF. brandiss-, *lengthened stem of* brandir.
 brayden, *pt. pl.* flung, 52; *pp.* brayde, unfurled, 163; OE. bregdan; *cp.* brauden.
 Bred Strete, Bread Street, Cheap-side, 480; OE. brēad, stræt.
 bremlly, noisily, 41; OE. brēme +ly.
 brene, *inf.* burn, 292; ON. brenna; *cp.* brynneth.
 brerdes, borders, 164; OE. brerd.
 breste, 116; OE. brēost.
 Bretayne, Britain, 1; OF. Bretagne.
 brethe, fury, 457; ? ON. bræði.
 brighte, 50; bright, 426; bryghte, 33; OE. beorht.
 broche, spit, 348; OF. broche.
 brod, broad, 116; brod[e], 405; brode, 333; OE. brād.
 broghte, *v.* bryng.
 broken, *v.* brake.
 bronde, *v.* brande.
 brothes, broths, 333; OE. broþ.
 brothir, 309; OE. brōþor.
 bro[p]e, violent, 457; ON. brāðr.
 brouden, *v.* brauden.

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- brouderde, *pp.* embroidered, 91;
 broudirde, 96; *cp.* OF. brouder.
 broun, burnished, 113; brown,
 158; OE. brūn.
 Bruyttus, Brutus, 1.
 brydells, 208; OE. bridel.
 bryghte, *v.* brighte.
 bryng, *inf.* 405; *imp. s.* 484;
 brynge, 480; *pt. pl.* broghte,
 197; *pp.* 332; OE. bringan.
 brynneth, *pr. 3s. impers.* it burns,
 357; OE. brinnan; *cp.* brene.
 bukkes, bucks, 405; OE. buc.
 buklede, *v.* boeled.
 buk-tayles, buck-tails, 333; OE.
 buc, tagl.
 bulles, papal bulls, 144; Lat. bulla.
 burde, *v.* borde.
 burgh, town, 470; OE. burh.
 busked, *pp.* accoutred, 110; ON.
 būask.
 but, *v.* bot.
 buturs, bitterns, 349; botours,
 379; OF. butor.
 by, 4; bi, 33; be, 176, 307, 466;
 by, by means of, 83; OE. bi.
 by, *inf.* buy, 393, 425; OE. byc-
 gan.
 by-fore, *v.* be-fore.
 by-hynde, *v.* be-hynde.
 bynche, bench, 87; *pl.* bynches,
 314; OE. benc.
 byrddes, *v.* birdes.
 by-twene, *prep.* 41, 219; by-
 twen, 356; OE. bitwēonum.
 by-twixe, between (*heading*), 1;
 OE. be-twyx.
 by-tyde, *v.* be-tyde.
 caban, cabin, tent, pavilion, 59;
 cabane, 83; OF. cabane.
 cache, *inf.* take, gather, 274;
 ONF. cachier.
 calles, *pr. pl.* call, 242; ON. kalla.
 cane, *pr. 1 s.* can, 223; kan, 452;
 know, 176; 3 s. can, can, 26;
 kane, 30; *pt. 1 s.* couthe, 308;
pl. 21; OE. cunnan.
 capill, horse, nag, 240; ON. ka-
 pall.
 cardynalls, 462; OF. cardinal.
 care, *n.* 233; OE. cearu.
 Carmes, Carmelites, 176; OF.
 carme.
 carpe, *inf.* speak, 452; *pt. 3 s.*
 kerpede, 218; ON. karpa.
 case, chance, 448; OF. cas.
 casten, *pp.* arranged, divided, 77;
 ON. kasta.
 [caudel]s, hot broths, 353; OF.
 chaudel.
 cayre, *inf.* go, 240, 468; kayren,
 502; *pr. pl.* 210; ON. keyra.
 caytef, wretch, 425; cayteffe,
 233; ONF. caitif.
 cely, simple, 414; OE. (ge)sælig.
 certys, truly, 221; OF. certes.
 chambre, room, 474; OF. chambre.
 charbiande, roasted, 336; (?) =
 charbinade, charbonade; OF.
 charbonade, a piece of meat
 grilled on the coals.
 chechun, badge, escutcheon, 116;
aphetic form of ONF. escuchon.
 chepe, market, 474; OE. cēap;
cp. Cheapside.
 chepe = schepe, sheep, 481; OE.
 scēap.
 chere, disposition, frame of mind,
 383; appon c., ? in appearance,
 24; OF. chere.
 chese, *inf.* choose, 496; c. be,
imp. s. betake thyself, 474; OE.
 cēosan.
 chewettes, dishes made of
 chopped meat, 336; (?) *deriv.*
 childe, 24; *pl.* children, 398;
 OE. cild.
 choppede, *pp.* 336; ? *cp.* MDu.
 cappen.
 chyn-wedys, beard, 24; OE. cin,
 wæde.
 clade, *pp.* clad, 90; OE. clāðan,
cp. clothes.
 clene, bright, 81; *adv.* 112; com-
 pletely, 486; OE. clæne.

GLOSSARY

- [cleng]and[e], congealing, 275; OE. *clengan.
 clenly, entirely, exactly, 77; OE. clænlice.
 clepen, *pr. pl.* call, 355; OE. cleopian.
 clerke, 293; *pl.* clerkes, 315; OF. cleric.
 cleuen, *pr. pl.* cloven, 340; OE. clēofan.
 clothe, cloth, 485; *pl.* clothes, clothes, 425; OE. clāp.
 clothes, *pr. 3 s.* 205; OE. clāċian; *cp.* clade.
 clyffe, 59; OE. clif.
 cofers, chests, 298; OF. cofre.
 Colayne, Cologne, 503.
 colde, 293; OE. ceald; Angl. cald.
 co[me], *inf.* 468; *pr. 3 s.* comes, 338; *pt. 1 s.* come, 502; 3 s. 312, 402; *pt. 3 s. subj.* 55, 253; OE. cuman.
 comforth, *inf.* comfort, 479; OF. conforter.
 comly, *adj.* 203; comely, 199; comliche, 86; *adv.* 90; OE. cymlic.
 conynges, rabbits, 353; OF. conin; AF. coning.
 coppe, cup, 448; OE. cuppe.
 corde, 145; OF. corde.
 corne, 233; *pl.* cornes, crops, 274; OE. corn.
 cornere, 81; OF. cornier; AF. corner.
 coste, *pt. pl.* 271; *pp.* 425; OF. coster.
 coursers, chargers, 203; OF. corsier.
 couthe, *v.* cane.
 crafte, skill, art, 176; OE. cræft.
 craftly, skilfully, 151; OE. cræftiglice.
 cramynge, cramming, 255; OE. crammian + -ing.
 creste, 59; *pl.* (*heraldic*) crestys, 51; OF. creste.
 crete, Cretan wine, 479.
 Cristes, Christ's, 297; Cristis, 255; OE. Crist.
 croked, *pp.* curled, 151; ON. krökr, *n.*
 crowned, *pp.* 86; AF. corouner.
 custadis, custards, 353; OF. croustade.
 cuttude, castrated, 240; ? *cp.* Sw. dial. kâta, kuta.
 daderande, trembling, 97; *deriv. unknown*; *cp.* dodder.
 dadillyng, chattering, 44; *cp.* diddering = chattering of teeth.
 dale, a dealing out of money in charity, 303, 305; OE. dāl.
 dare, *pr. 3 s.* 8; *pt. 2 s.* durste, venturedst on, 303; OE. duran.
 [daryo]ls, pasties, 354; OF. dariole.
 daye, lifetime, 303; OE. dæg.
 dayntethes, dainties, 330; OF. daintiet.
 ded, deed, 499; *pl.* dedis, 292; OE. dæd.
 dede, death, 313; OE. dēaþ; *cp.* Sw., Dan. død.
 dede, dead, 276; *d.* monethe, the unproductive months of the year; OE. dēad.
 dede-day, death-day, 441; OE. dēaþ-dæg.
 dedly, deadly, 313; OE. dēadlic.
 dele, *n.* part, 4; OE. dæl.
 dele, *inf.* deal, 103, 153, 345; delyn, divide, 441; *pr. pl.* deal, 5; OE. dælan.
 deme, *inf.* judge, 220; *imp. s.* 244, 453; *pr. 3 s.* d[em]eth, thinks fit, 201; OE. dēman.
 depe, deep, 44; OE. dēop.
 dere, expensive, 354, 494; OE. dēore.
 derne, darkness, 413; OE. derne.
 dethe, death, 196; OE. dēaþ.

- deuyll, devil, 441; the d.
wounder, no wonder at all,
236; OE. deofol.
- dide, *v.* do.
- dighte, *inf.* ordain, appoint, 330;
OE. dihtan.
- dische-metis, dish-meats, pies,
354; OE. disc, mete.
- disches, 342; OE. disc.
- disturbe, *inf.* 129; distourbe,
318; OE. destourber.
- do, *inf.* 499; *pr.* 3 s. dose, 305;
dothe, 109; *imp.* s. doo, cause,
478; *pl.* dothe, 220; *pt.* 3 s.
dide, did, 451; *pp.* done, 290;
don, 488; OE. dōn.
- doke, portion, 337; *cp.* docket,
piece; Fris. dok, LG. dokke,
bundle.
- domesdaye, doomsday, 17; OE.
dōmes dæg.
- Domynyke, S. Dominic, founder
of the Dominican Friars, 167.
- doo, don, dose, dothe, *v.* do.
- doun, down, 13, 109; downn,
235; OE. (of) dūne.
- dowfeshowses, dove-cots, 235;
OE. dūfe, hūs.
- drakes, 97; OE. *draca; *cp.*
OHG. antrahho; Sw. (*from* LG.)
and-drake.
- draweth, *pr.* 3 s. 17; OE. dragan.
- drede, *inf.* fear, 322; *aphetic*
form of OE. ondrædan.
- dredfull, 17; *cp.* dræde.
- Drightyns, the Lord's, 244; OE.
dryhten.
- droghte, drought, 312; OE. drū-
gāp.
- dropeles, dropless, rainless, 276;
OE. dropa + -less.
- drownede, *pp.* 312; OE. drunc-
nian.
- dry, 478; drye, 235; OE. drȳge.
- drye, drought, 276; OE. drȳge,
adj.
- drynk, *inf.* 478; *pp.* dronken,
488; OE. drincan.
- dub, *inf.* 499; *pt.* 1 s. dubbede,
103; *aphetic form of* OE. aduber.
- duell, *inf.* dwell, 453; duelle,
458; *pr.* 3 s. dwellys, pauses,
109; *pl.* duellen, abide, 140;
imp. s. duell, 488; OE. dwellan.
- dukkes, 97; OE. duce.
- dures, *pr.* 3 s. lasts, 108; OF.
durer.
- durst, *v.* dare.
- dwellys, *v.* duell.
- dyn, 44; OE. dyne.
- dyne, *inf.* dine, 330; OE. disner,
dīner.
- dynttis, blows, 103; OE. dynt.
- eghe, put owte his e. i. e. deceive
him, 487; *pl.* eghne, 45; OE.
ēage.
- egretes, herons, 494; OF. aigrette,
egrette.
- eke, also, 15; OE. ēac.
- eld, *n.* old age, 10; OE. eld(o).
- ells, else, 56; OE. elles.
- ende, *n.* 262; region, 47; OE.
ende.
- endes, *pr.* 3 s. 217; OE. en-
dian.
- endityde, *pp.* indicted, 313; AF.
enditer.
- ensample, 421; OF. essample.
- ere, *v.* be.
- ermyn, 412; OF. ermine.
- erthe, 371; OE. eorðe.
- [e]schewes, *pr.* 3 s. shuns, avoids,
422; AF. escheuer, OF. eschiver,
OHG. sciuhan, to shy at.
- Estirlynges, Easterlings, natives
of Eastern Germany, Hanse
merchants, 141; *cp.* Du. ooster-
ling.
- estres, retreats, recesses, 403; OF.
estre.
- euen, Missomer e., the evening
before Midsummer Day, 166;
pl. euenes, eves, 310; OE.
æfen.
- euer, ever, 23; OE. æfre.

GLOSSARY

- fadir, father, 451; *pl.* fadirs, 273; OE. fæder.
- faire, *adv.* 226; *faire*, 66, 82; *adj. sup.* faireste, 174; OE. fæger.
- failes, *pr.* 3 s. 378, 448; *pl.* fallyn, 210; *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* falle, 198; *pt. pl. ind.* felle, 53; OE. feallan.
- false, 228; OF. fals.
- fare, *imp. s.* go, 207; OE. faran.
- fare, good cheer, 295; OE. fær.
- faſte, *adv.* 217; OE. fæſte.
- fatt, 481; OE. fætt.
- fawked, *pp.* seized (by the 'fawcons'), 98; ? *cp.* OF. fauque, sickle.
- fawkons, falcons, 92; fawcons, 98; OF. faucon.
- ſayled, *pt.* 3 s. 155; ſaylede, 102; OF. faillir.
- ſaylynge, *n.* 291; OF. faillir + -ing.
- ſayne, glad, 402; OE. fægen.
- ſayntneſſe, 7; OF. faint + neſſe.
- ſayne, *v.* faire.
- ſayth, allegiance, 329; OF. feid.
- feble, 323; OF. feble.
- feche, *inf.* 449; *pr. pl.* 300; *imp. s.* 281; OE. feccan.
- ſede, *inf.* feed, 254, 464; *pr. pl.* feden, 295; *pp.* fedde, 206; OE. fēdan.
- ſeghtyn, *v.* fighte.
- ſelawes, companions, 329; late OE. fēolaga; ON. fēlagi.
- felde, plain, field of battle, 123, 179; one f., on the land, 287; *pl.* feldeſ, 288; OE. feld.
- fele, many, 35; OE. fela.
- felle, cruel, 228; OF. fel.
- felle, *v.* falles.
- ferd, *n.* fear, 416; ? *cp.* MHG. ferde; OE. fær.
- ferdede, *pp.* assembled in battle array, 138; OE. ferd, *n.*
- ferdere, more forward, more eager, 287; OE. furðor; *cp.* OE. feorr; *cp.* forthe.
- ferdes, *gen. pl.* of the armies, 123; OE. ferd.
- ferdneſ, fear, 98; *cp.* ferd.
- ſere, companion, 311; OE. (ge)-ſera.
- ſerlyeſte, moſt wonderful, 102; OE. færlīc.
- ſerre, *adv.* far, 416; *comp.* ſerrere, 451; *adj.* 311; [o]n ſere, afar, 7; OE. feorr.
- ſerſe, fierce, 148; OF. ſers.
- ſeſanttes, pheasants, 334; AF. ſeſant; OF. feſan.
- ſeſtes, feaſts, 295; OF. feſte.
- ſete, *v.* fote.
- fewles, fewliſ, fewllyſ, *v.* fowle.
- ſey, doomed to death, dead, 159, 245, 300; OE. fæge.
- ſighte, *inf.* 245; *pr.* 3 s. fightiſ, 154; *pl.* ſeghtyn, 160; OE. feohtan.
- ſighte, *n.* 148; OE. feohte.
- ſill, *inf.* 355; *imp. s.* ſille, 281; OE. ſyllan; *cp.* full.
- ſire, 291; OE. fȳr.
- ſiſcheſ, 386; OE. fiſc.
- ſitt, canto, 217; ſit, 367; OE. ſitt.
- ſlakerande, flapping, 92; *cp.* OE. ſlacor, *adj.*
- ſled, *pt.* 3 s. 416; OE. flēon.
- ſleſche, 336; OE. flæſc.
- ſlete, *inf.* float, ſwim, 386; OE. flēotan.
- ſlode, flood, water, 386; OE. flōd.
- Florence, 281.
- ſloures, flowers, 35; flowres of Fraunce, fleurs-de-liſ, 78; OF. flour, flor.
- ſlye, *inf.* fly, 384; OE. flēogan.
- ſlyttynge (more commonly flytynge), debating, argument, 154; OE. flitan; *cp.* OE. flit.
- ſode, food, 291, 491; OE. fōda.
- ſolde, ground, 174; OE. folde.
- ſolde, *inf.* entwine, 35; OE. fealdan; OM. faldan.
- ſole, fool, 154; OF. fol.
- ſoleſ, *v.* fowle.

- folke, people, 123; OE. folc.
 folowe, *inf.* 207; *pr.* 3 s. folowes,
 327; *pl.* folowe, 273; foloen,
 502; OE. folgian.
 fongen, *pp.* caught, 384; OE.
 fōn.
 for, *conj.* 5; *prep.* 185; against,
 275; fore, for, 283; OE. for.
 forced, *pp.* made strong, 170;
 OF. forcer.
 forfadirs, forefathers, 402; ON.
 forfadir.
 forgiffe, *inf.* 135; OE. forgiefan.
 forthe, *adv.* 281, 384; furthe,
 245; *comp.* forthire, 216;
 forthe[r], 366; OE. forþ; *cp.*
 ferdere.
 for-thi, therefore, 11, 197; be-
 cause, 286; OE. forþi.
 forthir, *inf.* advance, strengthen,
 429, 464; OE. fyrðran.
 forthire, *v.* forthe.
 foster, *inf.* feed, support, 464;
pp. fosterde, 206; *pt. pl.* brought
 up, 273; OE. fōstrian.
 fote, foot, 35, 375; *pl.* fete, 98;
 OE. fōt.
 founden, *v.* fynde.
 foure, 77; OE. fēower.
 fourme, form, nest of a hare, 14;
 OF. fourme, forme.
 fourmed, *pp.* 66; OF. fourmer.
 fourte, 163; OE. fēorða.
 fowle, *coll. pl.* fowl, 346; *pl.*
 foles, 40; fewles, 96; fewlis,
 384; fewlys, 91; fewllys, 44;
 OE. fugol.
 Fraunce, 78.
 Fraunceys, St. Francis of
 Assisi, 170; *gen. s.* Franceys,
 159.
 free, happy, noble, 434; fre, 272;
 OE. frēo.
 freke, man, 287; *pl.* frekes, 102;
 OE. freca, warrior.
 frenchipe, kinship, 7; *cp.* ON.
 frændi.
 frende, 402; advocate, 155; *pl.*
 frendes, friends, 240; OE.
 frēond.
 freres, friars, 300; freris, 179;
 OF. frere.
 fresche, bright, 66; vigorous, 160;
 OF. fresche, *f.*
 freschely, briskly, 217; OF.
 fresche + -ly.
 [fr]ete, *inf.* eat, 386; OE. fretan.
 fro, *prep.* from, 38, 161; *conj.* as
 soon as, 26, 200; ON. frā.
 frostes, 275; OE. frost.
 frumentes, *pl.* a dish made of
 wheat boiled in milk, 334; OF.
 frumentée.
 Frydaye, 311; OE. frīgedæg.
 full, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* fill, 217, 367;
 OE. fullian, fyllan; *cp.* fill.
 full, *adv.* 37; ful, 354; OE. full.
 furthe, *v.* forthe.
 fyfte, fifth, 174; OE. fīfta.
 fynd, fiend, devil, 487; OE. fēond.
 fynde, *inf.* invent, 21; maintain,
 428; find, 390; *pp.* founden,
 155; OE. findan.
 fyne, 92; OF. fin.
 fynger, 480; OE. finger.
 fyve, 206; OE. fīf, fife.
 fyvetene, fifteen, 451; OE. fif-
 tēne.
 gadir, *pr.* 1 s. gather, 227; gedir,
 231; *pp.* gadird, 432; OE.
 gæderian.
 gale[g]s, galoches, 157; *see Note.*
 gan, *pt.* 3 *pl.* did, 35; *aphetic form*
 of OE. onginnan.
 gartare, 63; *pl.* garters of Inde,
 blue garters of the 'Order of
 the Garter', 62; OF. gartier.
 gate, highway, 359; ON. gata.
 gayly, 62; OF. gai + -ly.
 gedir, *v.* gadir.
 gere, *pp.* adorned, 63; ON.
 gervi, *n.*
 gete, *inf.* get, 173; *pr.* 2 s. getys,
 440; *pp.* getyn, 269; ON. geta.
 gett, fashion, 410; OF. jet.

GLOSSARY

giff, *v.* gyf.
 giftes, 500; ON. gift.
 gilt, guilt, 135; OE. gylt.
 girde, *pp.* girt, 95; OE. gyrdan.
 girdills, 271; OE. gyrdel.
 glade, glad, 440; OE. glæd.
 glades, *pr.* 3 s. is glad, 227;
 gladdes, makes glad, 391; OE.
 gladian.
 glene, *pr.* 1 s. glean, 231; OF.
 glener.
 go, *v.* goo.
 God, 173; OE. god.
 god, gode, *v.* gud.
 gold, 118; golde, 61; OE.
 gold.
 gome, man, 118, 359; OE. guma.
 goo, *inf.* go, 231, 406; *imp.* s. go,
 105; OE. gān.
 goullyng, howling, 359; ON.
 gaula.
 grace, 135; OF. grace.
 grant, *inf.* 399; graunte, 371;
 AF. graunter; OF. graanter,
 eraanter.
 gray, 381; OE. grāg.
 grene, green, 48; OE. grēne.
 grete, great, 94, 122; *adv.* 224;
 OE. grēat.
 greues, *pr.* 3 s. grieves, 391; OF.
 grever.
 grewell, gruel, 381; OF. gruel.
 grounde, *n.* 173; OE. grund.
 grounden, *pp.* ground, *i. e.* con-
 sumed, 269; OE. grindan.
 grow, *inf.* 399; growe, 371;
 pr. 3 s. growes, 397; OE.
 grōwan.
 gud, good, 383; gode, 440; god,
 1 (*heading*); gude, 381; *used as*
 n. 271; *pl.* gudes, 265; gudis,
 441; *sup.* beste, 110, 315; *adv.*
 wele, 28, 161, 496; *comp.* better,
 247; *bettir*, 225; *sup.* beste, 30,
 125; OE. gōd.
 gyf, *inf.* give, 421; giff, 500; *pp.*
 gyffen, 269; OE. giefan; ON.
 gefa.

ȝalowe, yellow, 75; OE. geolu.
 ȝape, cunning, skilful, 75; *sup.*
 ȝapeste, 119; OE. gēap.
 ȝarked, *pp.* made, 75; OE. gear
 cian.
 ȝe, ye, 134; *dat. acc.* ȝow, 135;
 ȝowe, 228; yow, 31; OE. gē.
 ȝee, yea, 246; OE. gēa.
 ȝeme, *inf.* look after, protect,
 114, 152, 419; *pr. pl.* ȝemes,
 376; OE. gēman.
 ȝerdes, enclosures, 289; OE.
 geard.
 ȝere, year, 374; *gen. s.* ȝeris,
 387; *pl.* 119; OE. ȝear.
 ȝit, yet, 454; ȝitt, 174; OE. git.
 ȝondere, *adj.* yonder, 105; *adv.*
 143; *cp.* OE. geond, *adv.*
 ȝonge, young, 398; *sup.* ȝon-
 geste, 119; OE. geong.
 ȝore, long ago, 321; OE. gēara.
 ȝour, your, 355; OE. ēower.
 ȝow, ȝowe, *v.* ȝe.

had, hadn, *v.* hafe.
 hafe, *inf.* have, 256, 444; *pr.* 1 s.
 136; 2 s. haste, 248, 261; hase,
 250; 3 s. has, 158; hase, 145;
 hathe, 3, 323; hath, 297; *pl.*
 hafe, 271; *pr.* 2 s. *subj.* haue,
 269; 3 s. 68; hafe, 435; *imp. s.*
 290; *pt. pl.* had, 404, 409;
 [h]ade, 488; hadn, 272; OE.
 habban; *cp.* nade.
 halfe, 387; OE. healf.
 halpeny, 387; OE. healf-penig;
 cp. peny.
 hande, 121; honde, 87; appone
 h., at hand, 12; *pl.* handes,
 211; OE. hand, hond.
 handil, *inf.* 413; OE. handlian.
 hanged, *v.* honge.
 happede, *pp.* wrapped up, hid-
 den, 298; ? *cp.* LG. happen,
 Fris. happe, to clutch.
 harde, *adj.* 51, 374; *adv.* 12, 435,
 454; OE. heard.
 hare, 404; *pl.* hares, 14; OE. hara.

- harme, evil, 68; OE. hearn.
 harmes, *pr.* 3 s. it harms, 454;
 OE. hearman.
 has, hase, *v.* hafe.
 haste, *v.* hafe.
 hasteletez, haslets, 492; OF.
 hastelet, meat roasted on a spit
 (OF. haste).
 hate, *pr.* 1 s. 455; OE. hatian.
 hat[e]full, hateful, 73; *cp.* hate.
 hates, *pl.* angry feelings, 219;
 OE. hete; *cp.* hatian, *vb.*; ON.
 hatr.
 hath, hathe, *v.* hafe.
 hathell, man, 68; OE. æðele.
 hatt, hatten, *v.* hete.
 hatte, hat, 72; *pl.* hattes, 51;
 OE. hæt.
 haule, hall, 364; OE. heall.
 hauande, worth having, 323; ON.
 hafandi.
 haue, *v.* hafe.
 hawberkes, coats of mail, 50;
 OF. hauberc; OHG. hals-
 berg.
 hawthorne, 36; OE. hagaþorn.
 he, 10; *dat. acc.* hym, 69, 101.
 he, *v.* hye.
 hede, head, 36, 147; *pl.* hedes,
 51; hedis, 150; OE. hēafod;
cp. bede-hede, bore-hedis.
 hedir, hither, 197; hediye, 162;
 OE. hider; ON. heðra.
 hee, *interj.* 282; *cp.* F. hé.
 heghe, *v.* hye.
 heghwalles, woodpeckers, 38;
 ? *onomatopœic*; ? *cp.* wodwales.
 held, *v.* holden.
 helle, 260; OE. hel.
 helme, helmet, 72; *pl.* helmys,
 51; OE. helm.
 helpe, *n.* 361; OE. help.
 helpe, *inf.* 154; *pr.* 3 s. helpis,
 222; OE. helpan.
 heltre, halter, 418; OE. hælftrē.
 helys, heels, 450; OE. hēla.
 hen, 482; hene, 347; henne, 387;
pl. henne[s], 492; OE. henn.
- hend, gracious one, 419; OE.
 (ge)hende.
 hengeth, *pr.* 3 s. hangs, 184;
 hynges, 251; *pp.* hynged, 145;
 ON. hengja; *cp.* honge.
 henne, *v.* hen.
 henppe, hemp, 145; OE. henep.
 henttis, *pr.* 3 s. takes, 211; 3 s.
subj. hent, 447; OE. hentan.
 herd, herde, *v.* here.
 herdmans, herdsman's, 364; OE.
 heord, mann.
 here, army, 50, 58, 196; OE. here.
 here, *inf.* hear, 9, 220, 359; *pr.*
 2 s. heris, 319; *pt.* 1 s. herd,
 364; 3 s. herde, 23; OE. hieran;
 OAngl. hēran.
 here, *adv.* 19; OE. hēr; *cp.* heres.
 heres, ? gentles, 212; OE. herra;
possibly a scribal error for 'here'.
 heris, *v.* here, *inf.*
 herons, 492; OF. hairon.
 hert, 7; [herte], 454; *pl.* hertis,
 20; OE. heorte.
 herthe-stones, 14; OE. heorþ,
 stān.
 herueste, corn crop, 274; OE.
 hærfest.
 heselis, hazels, 38; ON. hesli.
 hete, *inf.* promise, 279; *pr.* 3 s.
 hetys, bids, 211; 1 s. hatt, am
 called, 222; *pl.* hatten, 218;
 OE. hātan, hātte.
 hethe, heath, field, 196; OE.
 hǣþ.
 hethyng, scorn, dishonour, *trans-*
lating 'honi' in the motto of the
'Garter', 68; ON. hǣðing.
 heuen, heaven, 244; *gen.* s. 361;
 OE. heofon.
 hewen, *pp.* hewn, 196; OE.
 hēawan.
 hidde, *pp.* 298; OE. hȳdan.
 hightilde, *pp.* put in order,
 settled, 438; *prob.* = eghtilde,
 ME. ahtlian; *cp.* ON. ætla, *its*
form being due to higtlien, to
adorn.

GLOSSARY

hill, mound, 36; OE. hyll.
 hillede, *pt.* 3 *s.* covered, 76; ON. hylja.
 hipped, *pt.* 3 *pl.* hopped, 38; OE. *hyppan; *cp.* MHG. hüpfen.
 hir, *pron. poss.* her, 418; OE. hierē.
 hir, *v.* scho.
 hire, their, 14; hir, 16; OE. hiera.
 his, 9; OE. his.
 hoderde, *pp.* huddled, covered up, 298; *cp.* LG. hudern.
 holden, *inf.* 10; *pr.* 1 *s.* holde, 154; hold, 446; 3 *s.* subj. 447; *pt.* 3 *s.* held, 419; OE. healdan; OAngl. haldan.
 holte, wood, 50; holt, wooded hill, 70; OE. holt, a wood; ON. holt, a wooded hill.
 holy, 147; OE. hālig.
 home, 161, 467; OE. hām.
 honde, *v.* hande.
 honge, *inf.* hang, 374; *pp.* hanged, 260; OE. hangian, hongian; *cp.* hēngeth.
 hope, *inf.* expect, 374; *pr.* 1 *s.* 12, 147; *imp.* *s.* 290; OE. hopian.
 hore, grey-haired, 10; OE. hār.
 horse, 467; *pl.* ho[r]ses, 237; OE. hors.
 hotte, 444, 482; hote, 219, 351; OE. hāt.
 house, 212; howse, 347; *pl.* houses, 438; OE. hūs.
 houes, *pr.* 3 *s.* remains, 105, 143; *pl.* 123; *deriv.* unknown; ? *cp.* OE. hōf, *pt.* *s.*
 how, 233; OE. hū.
 howes, lawyers' caps, 150; OE. hūfe.
 howndes, 237; OE. hund.
 howse, *v.* house.
 hungere, *n.* 237; OE. hungor.
 hungry, 482; OE. hungrig.
 hurele, *inf.* crouch, 14; *cp.* MLG. hurken.
 hurd[i]les, 'hurdies', buttocks, 436; *deriv.* unknown; not re-

corded in ME.; earliest instance in NED. is *Lyndesay's Satyre*, 1535.
 hy, *v.* hyes.
 hye, high, 246; heghe, 237; one h., on high, 40; of he, 64; *adv.* hye, 372; heghe, 358; OE. hēah.
 hyes, *pr.* 3 *s.* hastens, 453; hyeghte, 12; 2 *s.* subj. hy, 467; OE. hīgian.
 hym, *v.* he.
 hym-seluen, 28; OE. him selfum.
 hyne, servants, retainers, 212, 438; OE. *pl.* hīwan, *gen.* hīna.
 hynged, hynges, *v.* hēngeth.
 hyrne, corner, 238; OE. hyrne.
 I, 12; [I], 227; *dat. acc.* me, 31, 47; OE. ic.
 iche (with a), each, 63, 81, 249; [iche], 359; OE. ælc.
 ichone, each one, 62, 93; icheon, 6; OE. ælc + ān.
 if, 131; although, 391; OE. gif; *cp.* bot.
 in, *prep.* 3; into, 53; *adv.* 281; OE. in.
 inde, blue, 62; OF. inde.
 in-to, 261; OE. in tō.
 in-with, *adv.* within, 117; OE. in + wip.
 iren, iron, 185; yren, 111; OE. īren.
 [irous], fierce, 79; AF. irous.
 it, 1, 12; OE. hit.
 itwyste, *adv.* betwixt, 317; OE. in + (be)twyxx + -t.
 jangle, *inf.* chatter, 26; *pt.* 3 *s.* janglede, 40; OF. jangler.
 japes, jests, merry tales, 26; OF. japer, to bark, with sense of OF. gaber, to mock.
 jarmede, *pt.* 3 *pl.* = charmed, sang, 40; OE. cirman; *cp.* jarme, EDD.

jay, 40; jaye, 26; OF. jay.
Joseph, 419.

joynede, *pp.* fastened, closed,
115; OF. joign-, *stem* of joindre.

jupown, tunic, 115; OF. jupon.

juste, well-fitting, 115; OF. juste.

kan, kane, *v.* cane.

katour, caterer, buyer, 491;

aphetic form of ANorm. acatour.

kayren, *v.* cayre.

kaysser, emperor, 327; ON.
keisari.

kembid, *pp.* combed, 151; OE.
cemban.

ken, *pr.* 3 *pl.* know, 462; *imp. s.*
teach, direct, 479, 491; OE.
cennan.

kene, keen, 237, 275; *adv.* 74;
OE. cēne.

kepe, *inf.* care for, protect, 462;
pr. 3 *s. subj.* 69, 124; late OE.
cēpan.

kerpede, *v.* carpe.

kiddes, 340; ON. kið; Sw., Dan.
kid.

kirke, church, 147, 503; OE.
circe; ON. kirkja.

kirtill, tunic, 90; OE. cyrtel.

knave, servant, 485; OE. cnafa.

knawen, *inf.* know, find out, 491;
pr. 1 *s.* knowe, 468; kn[o]we,
187; *pl.* knowe, 205; knowes,
490; *pt.* 1 *s.* knewe, 83; *pp.*
knawen, 29; knawenn, 326;
knownen, 315; OE. cnāwan.

knees, 210; OE. cnēo.

knoke, blow, 485; late OE. cno-
cian, *vb.*

knoppe, nob, 81; *cp.* OE. cnæp,
ON. knappr, Dan. knop, Sw.
knopp.

knowe, knownen, *v.* knawen.

knyghte, 103; *pl.* knyghtis, 203,
502; OE. cniht.

kydde, *v.* kythe.

kynde, nature; in the k., natu-
rally, 117; OE. (ge)cynde.

kynde, natural, fitting, 274;
OE. (ge)cynde.

kyng, 69; *gen. pl.* kynges, 3;
OE. cyning.

kyngdome, 132; OE. cyningdōm.

kystes, chests, 255; ON. kista.

kyth, country, 124; kythe, some-
thing made known, rule, 134;
OE. cýþþ, knowledge; country.

kythe, *inf.* declare, 104; *imp. pl.*
218; *pp.* kydde, 315; [kydde],
renowned, 132; OE. cýðan.

lache, *inf.* take, 406; *pr.* 2 *s. subj.*
[lache], 469; *pt.* 3 *s.* laughte,
286; OE. læccan.

ladde, man of low birth, 388;
pl. laddes on fote, footmen,
375; *deriv. unknown.*

lady, 177; *pl.* ladyes, 16; OE.
hlæfdige.

lande, *v.* launde.

lanterne, 306; OF. lanterne.

laped, *pt.* 3 *s.* wrapped, covered,
111; *pp.* lapped, 350; *cp.* OE.
læppa, a fold of a garment.

larkes, 350; OE. lāferce; *cp.* Sw.
lärka, Dan. lérke.

lasteth, *pr.* 3 *s.* 8; OE. læstan.

late, *adv.* 306; *comp.* lattere;
neuer þe l., nevertheless, 29;
adj. sup. laste, 29; last[e],
399; OE. late.

late, *inf.* let, 406; *pr.* 3 *s.* lattys,
231; *imp. s.* late, 256, 263, 320;
let, 255; *pp.* lett of, esteemed,
27; OE. lætan.

laughte, *v.* lache.

launde, lawn, 54; lande, 48, 405;
OF. launde.

lawe, hill, 49; OE. hlāw.

lawe, low, 111, 139; one-lowe,
below, 80; ON. lāgr.

lawes, laws, 152; ON. *lagu, lōg;
late OE. lagu.

laye, *inf.* 284; *pt.* 1 *s.* layde, 36
OE. lecgan.

laye, *v.* lygge.

GLOSSARY

- lebarde, leopard, (*heraldic*) lion drawn full-faced, the crest of Edward III, 74; *pl.* leberdes, 80; OF. lebard.
- lede, *n.* leaden seal, 146; OE. lēad.
- lede, man, 108, 466; *pl.* ledis, 88; ledys, 29; l[e]des, 54, 223; lede, nation, people, 369, 469; OE. lēod, *m.* man; lēode, *pl.* people; lēod, *f.* nation.
- lede, *inf.* lead, 16, 128; *pr.* 2 s. ledis, 270; 3 s. 148; ledith, 171; OE. lēdan.
- ledyng, 223; OE. lēdan + -ing.
- leefe, willing, 465; OE. lēof.
- lefe, *n.* leave, 469; OE. lēaf.
- legges, 111; ON. leggr.
- legyan, allegiance, 501; OF. legeance.
- lelely, loyally, 430; OF. leel + -ly.
- leman, mistress, wife, 428; OE. lēof + mann.
- lengare, lengeste, *v.* longe.
- leng, *inf.* dwell, 469; OE. lengan.
- lengthe, 49; OE. lengþu.
- lere, *inf.* teach, 223; OE. lēran.
- lesse, lest, 98; 1. [pat], 395; OE. ȝȳ læs ȝe.
- let, lett, *v.* late.
- lethire, leather, 184; OE. leþer.
- lettres, 66, 466; OF. lettre.
- leue, *inf.* leave, 422; *pt.* 3 s. leuede, 286; OE. lēfan.
- leue, *imp.* s. believe, 259; *pp.* leuede, 27; OE. geliefan; OAngl. lēfan.
- ley, untilled, 234; ? OE. *lāge; *cp.* læg-hrycg.
- life, *v.* lyfe, lyve.
- liggen, ligges, *v.* lygge.
- lighte, swift, 74; OE. lēoht.
- lighte, bright, 306; OE. lēoht.
- lightten, *inf.* cheer, 406; *pr.* *pl.* lighten, dismount, 209; OE. lihtan.
- liste, *pr.* *impers.* it pleases, 378; OE. lystan.
- [lite], few, 369; OE. lýt.
- littill-whattes, *pl.* trifles, little, 225; early ME. litles (*gen. s.*), hwat.
- lofte, appon 1., one 1., on high, 72, 80; ON. loft; late OE. loft.
- loken, *v.* lowked.
- lokes, *pr.* 3 s. looks, 456; lukes, 324; *imp.* s. luke, 466, 475; luke, 485; *pr.* p. lokande, 74; OE. lōcian.
- lokkes, 71; OE. loc.
- lomes, tools, 234; OE. (ge)lōma.
- lond, land, 459; londe, 133, 388; in 1. (*expletive*), 16; *pl.* londes, 234; OE. land, lond.
- longe, *adj.* 74; *adv.* 243; *comp.* longer, 488; lengare, 259; *sup.* lengeste, 449; OE. lang, long.
- loo, *interj.* 124; OE. lā.
- lorde, 69; *pl.* lordes, 20; lordis, 375; OE. hlāford.
- Lorreyne, 139.
- losse, *inf.* lose, 133; OE. losian.
- loue, *n.* love, 244; lufe, 255; OE. lufu.
- loue, *inf.* love, 430; *pr.* 1 s. lufe, 225; 2 s. loueste, 328; 3 s. loueth, 88; *pl.* louen, 177; lufen, 501; *pt.* 2 s. louediste, 304; 3 s. louede, 286; *pl.* loued, 20; *pp.* 459; louede, 27; OE. lufian.
- loueliche, lovely, 48; *sup.* louelyeste, 88; *adv.* louely, lovingly, 456; OE. lufic.
- lowked, *pt.* *pl.* shut, 45; *pp.* loken, enclosed, 49; OE. lūcan.
- lufe, lufen, *v.* loue.
- luke, lukes, *v.* lokes.
- Lumbardye, 139.
- lyes, *v.* lygge.
- lyfe, *n.* 133; life, 108; lyue, 385; OE. lif.
- lyfe, *v.* lyve.

lygge, *inf.* lie, 463; *pr.* 3 s. lyes, is fitting, 428; *pl.* ligger, lie, 234; *ligges*, 503; *pt.* 1 s. laye, 45; 3 s. 49; OE. *licgan*.

lykes, *pr.* 3 s. is pleasing to, 279, 352, 495; *lyketh*, 125; OE. *lician*.

lympe, *inf.* become, 369; *pr.* 3 s. *lympis*, it befalls, 284; *lympes*, comes, 449; OE. *limpan*.

lyngwhittes, linnets, 350; OE. *linetwige*.

lyue, *v.* lyfe.

lyve, *inf.* 225; *life*, 243; *lyfe*, 375, 449; *pr.* 2 s. *subj.* 259; OE. *libban*; OAngl. *lifian*.

machen, *inf.* match, 172; OE. (ge)mæcca, *n.*

madde, mad, 446; OE. (ge)mæd(e)d.

mak[ande], comfort, competence, 446, *cp.* ON. *makindi*.

make, *inf.* 373, 431; *pr.* 3 *pl.* *maken*, 303; *pt.* 2 s. *madiste*, 264; OE. *macian*.

makers, 21; OE. *macian* + -er.

man, 28; *pl.* *men*, 193; *gen.* *mens*, 337; OE. *mann*.

mantill, 90; OF. *mantel*; ON. *møttull*.

many, 4; OE. *manig*.

marchandes, *v.* merchandes.

mare, more, 305; *sup.* *moste*, 166; *adv. comp.* *more*, 28; *sup.* *moste*, 345; OE. *māra*.

Martynmesse, the feast of St. Martin, Nov. 11; *M.* *mete*, meat salted at Martinmas, 345; Martin + OE. *mæsse*.

mater, matter, 264; *pl.* *matirs*, subjects for poetry, 21; OF. *matere*.

mawes, stomachs, 355; OE. *maga*.

[mawme]ne, a rich dish, perhaps so called from an ingredient of Malmsey wine, 355.

mawngery, feast, 304; OF. *man-gerie*.

may, *pr.* 3 s. 154; *pt.* 1 s. *myghte*, 43; OE. *magan*.

ma[z]e, the madness of midsummer, 166; *cp.* OE. *āmasod*, *pp.* *medewe*, meadow, 34; OE. *mæd*; *oblique case*, *mædwe*.

meles, meals, 365; OE. *mæl*.

melleste, *pr.* 2 s. *speakest*, 264; OE. *mælan*.

mend, *inf.* 383; AF. *mender*; OF. *amender*.

merchandis, *gen. s.* merchant's, 190; *pl.* *merchandis*, 377; OF. *marchand*; *cp.* *merke*.

merke, mark, boundary, place, 356; *pl.* *merchandis merke[s]*, merchants' signs, 190; OE. *mearc*; OAngl. *merc*.

meruelle, marvellous, 344; OF. *merveil*.

mery, drunken, riotous, 365; OE. *myrige*.

mese, course, 344; *pl.* *mese*, dishes, 356; OF. *mes*.

mete, meat, 335, 345, 383; OE. *mete*.

mete, *inf.* meet, 52; OE. *mētan*.

Missomer euen, the evening before Midsummer Day, 166; OE. *midsumor*, *æfen*.

molde, earth, 172; OE. *molde*.

monethe, months, 276; OE. *mōnāþ*.

more, *v.* mare.

morow, the next day, 478; OE. *morgen*.

morsell, 383; OF. *morsel*.

moste, *pr.* 3 s. 283; OE. *mōste*, *pret. of mōt*.

moste, *v.* mare.

mournes, *pr.* 3 s. laments, cries (as in despair), 446; OE. *murnan*.

my, 35; *myñ*, 32, 36; OE. *mīn*; *cp.* *one*.

myddis, middle, 95; *cp.* OE. *tō middes*.

GLOSSARY

- myghte, *v.* may.
 myle, 49; *pl.* 451; OE. *mīl*, *f.*
 myn, *v.* myr.
 myndale, commemoration feast,
 304; OE. (ge)mynd + *dāl*.
 myrthe, 304; *pl.* myrthes, enter-
 tainments, 21; OE. myrgp.
 my-selfe, 99; my-seluen, 368;
 OE. *mē self*.
 myster, need, 361; OF. *mestier*.

 nappe, *inf.* nap, 43; *pr. pl.* nap-
 pen, 435; OE. *hnappian*.
 ne, not, 10; nor, 9; *n[e]*, 127; OE.
ne.
 nedles, unnecessary, 338; *adv.*
 nedeles, 401; OE. *nēd* + *-less*.
 negardes, niggards, 435; *deriv.*
unknown; *cp.* Norw. *nigla*, *vb.*
 neghe, *inf.* approach, 19; *pr. pl.*
subj. 106; *pr. p.* neghande, 43;
 OE. *nēah*, *adv.*
 neghe, *adv.* nigh, 17, 19; *comp.*
 nerre, 106; OE. *nēah*.
 nekke, 76; OE. *hnecca*.
 nerre, *v.* neghe.
 neuer, never, 4; OE. *næfre*.
 new, 410; OE. *nēowe*.
 newly, soon, 19; OE. *nēow-*
lice.
 no, 8; no noþer = non oþer, 12,
 178; *adv.* none, 127; OE.
nān.
 noghte, not, 134; nott, 372; OE.
nōwiht.
 note, work, expenditure, 338;
 OE. *notu*.
 nothir, neither, 327; OE. *nōðer*.
 nott, *v.* noghte.
 noþer, *v.* no.
 now, 7; nowwe, 4; OE. *nū*.
 nowthir, neither, 201; OE. *nō-*
hwæðer, *nōwðer*.
 nyghte, night, 43; nyzte, 478;
pl. nyghttis, 266; OE. *niht*.
 nyn[d]e, ninth, 4; ON. *niundi*.
 nysely, foolishly, extravagantly,
 410; OF. *nice* + *ly*.

 nysottes, wanton girls, 410; OF.
nicette, *fem. of nicet*, *adj.*

 of, 2, 98; with, 63; for, 426;
 in, 65; of he, on high, 64; off,
 from, 202; *adv.* off, 183; OE. of.
 ofte, 241; OE. oft.
 ogh, *v.* owethe.
 oke, oak, 397; OE. *āc*.
 one, on, 36, 40, 287, 467; on,
 467; OE. *an*, *on*.
 one, one, 67, 88, 107; *adv.* alone,
 132, 135; *myn* one, by myself,
 32; *hir lyfe* one, her life itself,
 430; OE. *ān*, *āne*.
 one-lowe, *v.* lawe.
 ones, once, 31; one[s], 364; OE.
ān + *-es*.
 opynes, *pr.* 3 s. opens, 232; OE.
openian.
 or, 19; early ME. oðer.
 or, before, 43, 84, 229, 486; are,
 198, 269; formerly, 409; ON.
ār; OE. *ær*.
 ordire, order, 186; OF. *ordre*.
 o[sul]les, ouzels, 494; OE. *ōsle*.
 othere, 6, 179; othire, 38; oþer,
 386; OE. oðer.
 oughte, anything, 186; OE.
ōwiht.
 oure, our, 69; OE. *ūre*.
 ourlede, *pp.* bordered, 412; OF.
orler.
 ouer, over, 460; OE. ofer.
 ouer-brade, *pp.* spread over,
 covered, 342; OE. oferbrædan.
 owethe, *pr.* 3 s. owns, 199, 347;
 ogh, ought, 287; 3 *pl.* ow[es],
 owe, 329; *pt.* 3 s. aughte, owned,
 1; OE. *āgan*.
 ownn, 400; OE. *āgen*.
 owt, 489; owte, 52; *comp.* vt-
 tire, 468; OE. *ūt*.
 owthe, *v.* owethe.
 owthire, *pron.* either, 245
 owthir, 196; *conj.* or, 300;
 owthere, 290; OE. *ōhwæðer*
ōwðer.

WYNNERE AND WASTOURE

- owttrage, excess, 267; OF. *ultrage*, outrage.
- pale[y]s, palace, 498; OF. *palais*.
- paradyse, 296; OF. *paradis*.
- pared, *pp.* trimmed; *p.* off rownde, rounded off, 183; OF. *parer*.
- Paris, 461; *Parys*, 498.
- parischen, parishioners, 376; OF. *paroisse* + *suffix*.
- parte, 256; OF. *part*.
- passee, *inf. go*, 372; *pr. 3 s. subj.* 476, 486; *imp. s.* 461; OF. *passer*.
- pawnee, armour protecting the lower part of the body, 112; OF. *pance*; ONF. *panche*.
- paye, *n.* pleasure; *your wyfes to p.*, for your wives' pleasure, 408; OF. *paie*.
- paye, *inf.* 486; *pr. 3 s.* *payes*, it pleases, 297, 433; *pl.* *payen*, pay, 427; *pp.* *payede*, 288; OF. *payer*.
- payntten, *inf.* 301; *pp.* *payntted*, 65; OF. *peindre*, *pp.* *peint*.
- pedders, pedlars, 377; *deriv. unknown*; *cp.* ME. *ped*, basket.
- pelers, pillars, 301; OF. *piler*.
- peloure, fur, 393; OF. *pelure*.
- pendant[s], hanging ornaments, 183; OF. *pendant*.
- peny, 487; OE. *pening*; late OE. *penig*; *cp.* *halpeny*.
- pennyles, penniless, 393; late OE. *penig* + *-less*.
- peple, 256, 433; OF. *peuple*.
- pergett, *inf.* plaster, 301; OF. *parjeter*.
- perle, 81; OF. *perle*.
- pertly, openly, 129; *aphetic form of OF.* *apert* + *-ly*.
- pertrikes, partridges, 493; OF. *perdriz*, *pertriz*.
- pese, peace, 55; OF. *pais*.
- pik, *imp. s.* pick, 486; OE. *pīcian*.
- plates, plate-armour, 114; OF. *plate*.
- plente, abundance, 370; OF. *plenté*.
- plesynge, 296; OF. *plaisir*.
- plouers, plovers, 493; AF. *plover*; OF. *plovier*.
- plunket, light blue (greyish blue woollen cloth), 65; OF. *plunkié*.
- poles, pools, 235; OE. *pōl*.
- polischede, *pp.* 112; OF. *poliss-*, *lengthened stem of polir*.
- pompe, 422; OF. *pompe*.
- pope, 169; OE. *pāpa*.
- pore, *v.* *poure*.
- pote[ner], purse, 476; *cp.* OF. *pautonniere*; (*see Note*).
- poure, poor, 393; *pore*, 256; OF. *poore*, *poure*.
- pouerte, poverty, 422; *pouert*, 382; OF. *poverté*; Lat. *nom.* *paupertas*.
- powere, armed force, 318; OF. *poër*.
- poyntes, dots, 65; ends, 183; OF. *point*.
- prayed, *pt. 3 pl.* 55; OF. *preier*.
- prechours, preaching friars, Dominicans or Black Friars, 169; OF. *precheor*.
- prelates, 376; OF. *prélat*.
- prestes, priests, 376; OE. *prēost*.
- pride, pomp, 417; *pryde*, 15; late OE. *prȳte*; *cp.* ON. *prȳði*; OF. *prūt*, *prūd*, *adj.*
- prikkede, *pt. 1 s.*, spurred, rode, 318; OE. *prician*.
- pris, price, worth, 372, 377; OF. *pris*.
- priste, keen, urgent, 169; OF. *prest*.
- proude, 498; *prowde*, 377; *prode*, 433; late OE. *prūd*; ON. *prūðr*; OF. *prūd*.
- pryde, *v.* *pride*.
- pryke, *pr. 1 s.* pin, secure, 232; OE. *prician*.
- prynce, 55; OF. *prince*.

GLOSSARY

pryne, *pr.* 1 s. pin together, 232 ; OE. *prēon*, *n.*

pulled, *pp.* plucked, 493 ; OE. *pullian*.

Pultrie, the Poultry, Cheapside, 490 ; OF. *pouletrie*.

pure, 370 ; OF. *pur*.

purse, 162 ; OE. *purs*.

put, *imp. s.* 487 ; OE. *putian*.

pysayne, *gorget*, 112 ; OF. *pizane*, *adj. f.*

quarter[e]d, *pp.* divided up, 340 ; OF. *quarter*, *n.*

quarter[e]s (*heraldic*) 77 ; OF. *quarter*.

quod, *pt.* 3 s. said, 246 ; OE. *cweðan*.

rane, *pt.* 3 s. ran, 41 ; OE. *rinnan*.

ranke, excessive, 322 ; OE. *ranc*.

rathere, *comp.* sooner, 322 ; OE. *hraðor*.

raton[e]s, rats, 254 ; OF. *raton*.

raughten, *v.* *rechen*.

rawnsom, ransom, 363 ; OF. *rançon*, *raunson*.

r[axillen], stretch (in sleep), 436 ; OE. *raxan* + *-le* + *-ing*.

rayled, *pp.* adorned, 343 ; *raylede*, 60 ; OF. *reiller*.

raysen, *pr. pl.* 436 ; *imp. s.* *rayse*, 289 ; ON. *reisa*.

rechen, *pr. pl.* give, 363 ; *pt. pl.* *raughten*, reached, 42 ; OE. *ræcan*.

rede, red, 60, 380 ; OE. *rēad*.

rede, *inf.* govern, 57 ; *pp.* *redde*, read, 23 ; OE. *rædan*.

redy, ready, 278 ; OE. (*ge*)*-ræde* + *-y*.

refreyte, refrain, burden of a song, 1 (*heading*) ; OF. *refrait*.

reghte, *adv.* just, 165 ; OE. *rehte*.

rekken, *inf.* reckon, 192 ; OE. (*ge*)*recenian*.

reme, *inf.* weep, 258 ; OE. *hrēman*.

renke, man, 23 ; OE. *rinc*.

rent-houses, houses yielding rent, 289 ; OF. *rente* ; OE. *hūs*.

repaste, 363 ; OF. *repast*.

rere, *imp. s.* rear, build, 474 ; *pp.*

rerede, raised, 59 ; OE. *ræran*.

reure, river-bank, hawking-ground, 100 ; OF. *rivere*, *re-viere*.

rewlyn, *inf.* rule, 57 ; OF. *reuler*.

rewme, realm, 128 ; OF. *reaume*.

rewthe, pity, 258 ; OE. *hrēow* + *-th*.

riche, 191 ; *comp.* *richere*, 322 ; *adv.* *riche*, 63 ; OE. *rīca*.

ridde, *inf.* part combatants, settle a broil, 57 ; ON. *ryjða*.

rigge, back, 340 ; OE. *hrycg*.

ristyth, *pr.* 3 s. lies, 200 ; OE. *restan*.

rode, rood, cross, 343 ; OE. *rōd*.

rode, *v.* *ryde*.

rofe, roof, 60, 251 ; OE. *hrōf*.

romance, 23 ; OF. *romans*.

Rome, 461.

roste, *n.* roast meat, 339 ; OF. *rost*.

rote, *inf.* rot, 254 ; OE. *rotian*.

roughe, 42 ; coarse, 380 ; OE. *rūh*.

roungen, *pt. pl.* made a ringing noise, 39 ; OE. *hringan*.

r[outing], snoring, 436 ; OE. *hrūtan*.

rownde, *adv.* 183 ; OF. *rund*.

rowte, troop, 128, 202 ; OF. *route*.

ruste, *inf.* 254 ; OE. *rūst*, *n.*

ruyde, violent, noisy, 42 ; OF. *ruide*.

ryalle, royal, rich, 339 ; *ryall*, regal, 128 ; OF. *rial*.

ry[e]hely, 270 ; OE. *rīce* + *-ly*.

ryde, *inf.* 131 ; *pr. pl.* *ryden*, 360 *pr. 3 s. subj.* *ryde*, 100 ; *pt. 3 s.*

rode, 202 ; OE. *ridan*.

rye, 380 ; OE. *ryge*.

- ryfe, abundance, 258; ON. rifr; late OE. rýfe.
- ryme, *imp. s.* open up, 289; OE. rýman.
- rynges, rings, 343; OE. hring.
- ryse, *inf.* 211; OE. risan.
- ry[t]he, right, prerogative, 134; OE. riht.
- sable, (*heraldic*) black, 157; OF. sable.
- sadde, strong, unyielding, 193; sade, massive, heavy, 146; OE. sæd.
- sadills, saddles, 394; OE. sadol.
- sadly, seriously, 18; heavily, 215; OE. sæd + -ly.
- safe, *adj.* 427; *prep.* save, 238, 418; saue, 347; OF. sauf; *cp.* vouché.
- said, *v.* say.
- sakkes, sacks, 250; OE. sacc.
- sall, *v.* schal.
- Salomon, Solomon, 11.
- samen, together, 360; OE. so-men; ON. saman.
- sandisman, messenger, 204; *gen.* of OE. sand + mann.
- saue, *pr.* *pl.* save, 401; *pt.* 2 s. saued, 444; OF. sauver.
- saue, *v.* safe.
- sawe, saying, 11, 67; OE. sagu.
- sawe, *v.* see.
- say, *pr.* 1 s. 146; 3 s. sayse, 325; *pl.* sayen, 159; sayne, 399; *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* say, 19; *pt.* 1 s. sayd, 99; 3 s. 124; said, 108; *pl.* sayden, 204; *pp.* sayde, 11, 321; OE. segan.
- sayn, saint, 159; *pl.* sayntes, 310; OF. saint.
- scathed, *pp.* hurt, 362; OE. sc(e)aðian; ON. skaða; *v.* skathill.
- s[chadewe], *inf.* 400; OE. scead-wian.
- schake, *inf.* go, 403; OE. scacan.
- schal, *pr.* 2 s. 426; schalte, 279; schall, 260; 3 s. 10; sall, 369; schal, 373; *pl.* schall, 13, 179; *pt.* 1 s. scholde, 178; 2 s. 257; scholdeste, 258; 3 s. schold, 388; *pl.* 152; OE. sceal.
- schalkes, men, 317, 432; OE. sc(e)alc.
- schame, 400; OE. sc(e)amu.
- scharpynyng, 185; OE. scearp + -en + -ing.
- Scharshull, William de Shares-hull, Chief Justice (*see* Notes and Preface), 317.
- schauynge, shaving, 185; OE. sc(e)afan + -ing.
- schawe, wood, thicket, 403; *pl.* schawes, 53; OE. scaga.
- schenchipe, ignominy, 432; OE. scend- + -ship.
- schent, *pp.* disgraced, 317; OE. scendan.
- schetys, sheets, 463; OE. scēte.
- schewe, *inf.* 403, 421; *imp. s.* schew, 481; OE. scēawian.
- schiltrons, troops, 53; OE. scild-truma.
- scho, she, 416; *dat. acc.* hir, 415; OE. sēo.
- schold, scholde, scholdeste, *v.* schal.
- scholdirs, 481; OE. sculdor.
- schonn, *inf.* shun, 432; OE. scun-nian.
- schorte, short, 1 (*heading*); OE. sc(e)ort.
- schynethe, *pr.* 3 s. 185; OE. scī-nan.
- scorned, *pp.* 362; *aphetic form* of OF. escorner.
- sectours, executors, 443; sek-tours, 302; *aphetic form* of AF. executour.
- see, sea, 312; OE. sē.
- see, *inf.* 9; *pr.* 1 s. 157, 188; se, 321; *pt.* 1 s. see, 83; sawe, 137; 3 s. 89; *pp.* sene, 3; OE. sēon.
- seere, divers, 3; ON. sēr.

GLOSSARY

segge, man, 89; OE. *secg*.
 sekere, resolute, 193; OE. *sicor*.
 sektours, *v.* sectours.
 selcouthes, marvels, 3; OE. *sel-*
dan + cūp.
 seldom, 160; OE. *seldan*.
 sele, bliss, 204; OE. *sæl*.
 selled, *pp.* sealed, 146; OF. *seeler*.
 sell, *inf.* 401; *selle*, 284; *pr. pl.*
sellen, 233; *sellyn*, 396; *pp.*
solde, 261; OE. *sellan*.
 selly, marvellous, 99; OE. *sellic*.
 semys, *pr.* 3 s. seems, 178;
impers. *paym semy[th]*, they
 seem, 176; *pt.* *pam semede*, 97;
 ON. *sēma*.
 sen, *v.* sythen.
 send, *inf.* 9; *imp.* s. 483; *pr.* 1 s.
sende, 466; 3 s. *send[es]*, 125;
 OE. *sendan*.
 sendell, a rich stuff, 180; *sen-*
dale, 394; OF. *cendal*.
 sene, *v.* see.
 septure, sceptre, 87; OF. *sceptre*.
 sercles, rings, 394; OF. *cercle*.
 serue, *inf.* serve, 177, 388; *pp.*
serue[d], 492; OF. *servir*.
 sete, seat, 483; ON. *sæti*.
 sett, *imp.* s. 483; *pp.* 87; set for
 sale, 407; OE. *settan*.
 seuen, seven, 299; OE. *seofon*.
 seuer, *inf.* divide, 443; AF. *severer*;
 OE. *sevrer*.
 sewes, sauces, 339; broths, 381;
 OE. *sēaw*.
 se[w]es, *pr.* 3 s. *sues*, 302; OF. *su-*
stem of suivre.
 sex, six, 79; *sexe*, 157; OE.
sex.
 sexte, sixth, 180; OE. *sexta*.
 showen, *pt. pl.* pushed, 53; OE.
scūfan.
 sicke, such, 137; OE. *swilc*.
 [si]de, ample, long, 411; OE.
sid.
 silke, *n.* 82, 414; OE. *sioloc*.
 silken, 463; covered with silk,
 87; OE. *siolcen*.

siluer, 363, 427; *siluere*, 214;
s[iluer], 500; OE. *siolfor*.
 sir, 204; OF. *sire*.
 skathill, harmful, 443; ON.
**skǫpull*; *cp.* Goth. *skapuls*; *v.*
schathed.
 skyll, reason, 362; ON. *skil*.
 slabbande, *pr. p.* trailing in dirt,
 411; *cp.* Dan. *slab*, mud.
 slee, clever, 6; ON. *slægr*.
 sleght, *pp.* slackened, let down,
 411; OE. *slæccan*.
 sleues, sleeves, 411; OE. *sliefe*;
 OAngl. *slēfe*.
 smytte, *inf.* smite, 431; OE. *smī-*
tan.
 snyppes, snipe, 349; ON. (*mýri-*
snipa).
 so, 4; OE. *swā*.
 softe, gently, 483; OE. *sōfte*.
 sogoure, sugar, 350; OF. *sucre*.
 solde, *v.* sell.
 some, 189; OE. *sum*.
 someris, *gen. s.* summer's, 165;
 OE. *sumor*.
 sone, son, 9; *pl.* *sones*, 400; OE.
sunu.
 sone, soon, 85, 231; OE. *sōna*.
 sone, sun, 33, 165; *sonn*, 89,
 299; OE. *sunne*.
 sore, 454; OE. *sār*.
 sorowe, 331; OE. *sorh*.
 sothe, truth, 18; OE. *sōþ*.
 soule, 261; OE. *sāwel*.
 south-ward, 9; OE. *sūþweard*.
 sowede, *pt.* 3 s. *bleared*, 215; *see*
Note.
 sowes, *pr.* 3 s. 370; OE. *sāwan*.
 sowme, sum, 192; AF. *summe*;
 OF. *somme*.
 sowpped, *pt.* 1 s. *supped*, drank,
 215; OE. *sūpan*.
 soyle, land, 401; OF. *soil*.
 spare, *inf.* 224; *pr.* 2 s. *spareste*,
 260; *pl.* *spare*, 398; OE. *spa-*
rian.
 sparrede, *pp.* enclosed, kept, 238;
 OE. (*ge*)*sparrian*.

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sparthe, halberd, 238; ON. sparða
 Spayne, 139.
 speche, speech, 325; OE. spæc,
later form of spræc.
 spedfully, speedily, 224; OE. spēd
 + -fully.
 spedles, useless, vain, 325; OE.
 spēd + -less.
 speken, *inf.* 325; OE. specan,
later form of sprecan.
 spende, *inf.* 224; *aphetic form of*
 OE. āspendan.
 spere, spear, 238; OE. spere.
 spread, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* spread, 485;
 OE. sprēdan.
 sprynge, saplings, 398; OE.
 spring.
 spyces, 339; OF. espice.
 spyres, sprouts, 398; OE. spir.
 sqwyeres, squires, 194; OF. es-
 cuyer.
 standes, *v.* stondes.
 stedis, steeds, 209; OE. stēda.
 stele, steel, 113; OE. stýle; OM.
 stēli.
 stelen, *adj.* steel, 252; OE.
 stýlen.
 steppede, *pt.* 3 s. 35; OE. stæppan.
 sterlynges, coins, 252; *cp.* MHG.
 sterline.
 stirre, *inf.* 127; OE. styrian.
 stondes, *pr.* 3 s. stands, 70; stond-
 eth, 101; standes, 228, 382;
 OE. standan, stondan.
 stones, jewels, 343; OE. stān.
 [strecche], *inf.* go, 471; OE.
 streccan.
 stremys, currents, 42, 460; OE.
 strēam.
 strike, *inf.* 229; *pr.* *pl.* 107; OE.
 strican.
 stroke, blow, 107; *pl.* strokes,
 142; OE. strican, strāc.
 stroye, *inf.* destroy, 229; *pr.* 2 s.
 stroyeste, 265; *aphetic form of*
 OE. destruere.
 stryffe, strife, 265; OF. estrif.
 stuffede, *pp.* clad, 142; provided,

equipped, 168; stuffed, packed
 in, 252; OF. estoffer.
 sturte, impetuosity, 265; ? OE.
 *styrtan, *vb.*; *cp.* Dan. styrte.
 stynt, *inf.* cease, 195; stynte,
 107; *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* styntt, 229;
 OE. styntan.
 swannes, 340; OE. swan.
 sweped, *pp.* swept, carried off, 46;
 OE. *swāpan; *cp.* ON. sveipa.
 swerdes, swords, 320; OE. sweord.
 swete, sweet, 353; OE. swēte.
 sweuen, dream, 46; OE. swefen.
 swyngen, *inf.* combat, fight, 320;
 OE. swingan.
 swythe, quickly, 46; OE. swīðe.
 syde, 193; *pl.* sydes, 60; OE.
 sīde.
 syghte, sight, 137; OE. (ge)sihþ.
 symple, 414; OF. simple.
 synes, signs, 188; OF. sine.
 synn, sin, 261; OE. synn.
 sythen, *adv.* then, 276; *conj.*
 since, 169; sythen *pat.* 1, 427;
 sen, 134; OE. siþþan.
 take, *inf.* 352; *pr.* 2 s. tast, 445;
 3 s. takes, 122; *pr.* 3 s. *subj.*
 take, 448; ON. taka.
 takynge, *n.* taking, 2; ON. taka
 + -ing.
 tale, *n.* 31; OE. talu.
 tartes, 341; OF. tarte.
 tasselde, *pp.* tasselled, 82; OF.
 tassel, a clasp.
 tast, *v.* take.
 tauerne, tavern, 277; OF. taverne.
 tayte, merry, 477; ON. teitr.
 teche, *imp.* s. direct, 477, 489;
 OE. tæcan.
 teeles, teal, 352; *cp.* Du. teling.
 tell, *inf.* 31; telle, 18; *pr.* 3 s.
 tellys, 181; *pt.* 3 s. tolde, 293;
pp. 445; OE. tellan.
 ten, 341; OE. tēn; Angl. tēn.
 tene, *inf.* vex, 247; *pr.* 3 s. tenys,
 341; *impers.* [me ten]yth, 358;
 OE. tēonian.

GLOSSARY

tent, heed, 445; *aphetic form of* OF. atente.

thaire, their, 20; thayre, 39; paire, 208; pair, 383; ON. þeirra.

than, than, 56; then, 298; þan, 28; OE. ðanne, ðanne.

than, *v.* then.

thare, *impers. pr.* it needs, 201; OE. þearf, þearft, þearftu, þar-tu (*2nd pers. sing.*), whence þar.

that, *pron. rel.* 5, 243; þat, 20; he that, 447; that, 147; that which, 286; OE. ðæt.

that, *conj.* 1; þat, 195, 487; OE. ðæt.

thay, thaym, *v.* they.

thayre, *v.* thaire.

the, 2; þe, 28; *rel. pron.* those who, 442; late OE. ðe.

the, *v.* thou.

thefe, thief, 228; OE. þiof, þeof.

then, then, 64; thene, 17; than, 218, 227, 284, 291, 324, 423; þan, 45; [þan], 360; OE. ðanne, ðanne.

ther-by, beside, 335; OE. ðærbi. there, 3; where, 123, 312; ther, 35; þer, 432, 503; there, 124; OE. ðær.

they, 37; thay, 161; þay, 39; þay . . . þay, these . . . those, 379; *dat. acc.* thaym, 162, 176; þam, 97, 211; ON. þeir; *cp.* þamselfe.

thies, *v.* this.

thikke, 190; *adv.* 113; OE. þicce. thirde, 156; OE. þrida; ON. þridda.

this, 8; *pl.* 206; thies, 54; OE. ðis. thi-seluen, thyself, 264; þi-seluen, 374, 389; OE. ðe selfum.

[thog]he, though, 357; OE. ðah. thoghte, *v.* thynke.

thoo, those, 224; OE. ðā, *pl.*

those, 317; OE. ðas, *pl.*

thou, 248; þou, 105; *dat. acc.*

the, 103, 204, 329; þe, 373, 462; OE. ðu.

three, 175; th[ree], 25; OE. þreo.

threpe[d], *pt. pl.* chid, argued, 37; OE. þreapian.

throly, keenly, 37; ON. þrāliga. throstills, throstles, 37; OE. prostyle.

thurch, through, 2; OE. ðurh.

thus, 259; þus, 362; OE. ðus.

thy, 104; thyn, 268; thi, 246; OE. ðin; *cp.* þi-seluen.

thynke, *inf.* 128; *pr.* 1 s. thynk, 499; 3 s. thynkes, 68, 229; *pl.*

thynken, 107, 401; *imp. s.* thynke, 103; *pt.* 1 s. thoghte, 84; OE. þencan.

thynke, *pr. impers.* it seems, 99, 453; thynkes, 146; *pt.* thoghte, 47; OE. þyncan.

till, 55; til, 469; tyll, to, 38; ON. til.

tille, *inf.* till, 288; OE. tilian.

titmoyses, titmice, 352; ON. tittr + OE. mase.

to, 9; till, 245, 470; too, 224, 372; OE. tō.

to-fore, before (me), 434; OE. tōforan.

to-gedir, together, 182; to-gedire, 25; OE. tōgædere.

to-gedirs, together, 106; OE. tōgædere + s.

tolde, *v.* tell.

tonge, speech, 67; tong, 364; OE. tunge.

tonne, tun, cask, 477; tounnes, 189; OE. tunne.

towne-hede, town-head, upper end of the town, 277.

tounen, *pr. pl.* sound, blow, 358; OF. ton, *n.*

townn, town, 489; *pl.* towns, 377; OE. tūn.

tresone, treason, 2; OF. traison. tretys, treatise, 1 (*heading*); OF. tretis.

trompers, trumpeters, 358; OF.
trompe + er.

trotte, *n.* 122; OF. trot.

trotte, *inf.* 489; OF. trotter.

trouthē, troth, 307; OE. trēowþ.

Troye, 2.

trynes, *pr.* 3 s. goes, 122; *cp.* Sw.
trīna.

tuly, red, 82; OF. tieulé, tile-
coloured.

tuttynge, *pr.* *p.* projecting, 82;
OE. *tūtian; *cp.* OE. tȳtan.

twa, *v.* two.

twayne, two, 158; OE. twēgen.

twelue, twelve men, a jury, 313;
[twelue], 356; OE. twelf,
twelfe.

twenty, 206; OE. twentig.

two, 78; twa, 356; OE. twā.

tyde, time, 165; OE. tīd.

tyll, *v.* till.

tyme, 396; *pl.* tymes, 3; OE.
tīma.

ty[n]en, *inf.* fence, hedge in, 288;
OE. tȳnan.

pair, paire, *v.* thaire.

pam, *v.* they.

pam-selſe, themselves, 360; ON.
þeim; OE. selfum; *cp.* they.

pan, *v.* than, then.

pat, the, 193, 221, 286; OE.
þæt.

pat, pay, *v.* that, they.

p^e, per, *v.* the, thou, there.

perafter, afterwards, 362; OE.
þær after.

pis, *v.* this.

þi-seluen, *v.* thi-seluen.

poſe, though, 470; ON. *þōh,
earlier form of þō; *cp.* all-poſe.

vmbeſtounde, at times, 100; OE.
ymbe ſtunde.

vmbtourne, *adv.* round about,
412; *cp.* OE. ymbtyrnan.

vmbygon, *pp.* surrounded, 118;
vmby-gone, 62; OE. ymbgān.

vnder, 89; vndere, 252; vndir,
34, 80; OE. under.

vnthrifte, extravagance, 267;
OE. un- + ON. þrīft.

vn-till, unto, 58; [vn]till, there-
unto, 473; *cp.* Goth. und = OE.
ōþ; ON. til.

vp, *adv.* 38, 265, 282; OE. up.

vp-brayd, *inf.* reproach, 426; *pp.*

vp-brayde, uplifted, 149; vp-

brayde, laid hold of, 208; OE.
up + bregdan.

vpon, *v.* appon.

vsage, custom, 130; OF. usage.

vttire, *v.* owt.

vayne, 294; OF. vain.

vaynes, veins, 479; OF. veine.

venyson, 334; OF. veneisun.

vouche, *pr. pl. v.* safe, guarantee,
427; OF. voucher, sauf.

wakede, *pp.* watched, 248; OE.
wacian.

wakyngē, holding 'wakes', 266;
OE. wacian + -ing.

wale, choice, excellent, famous,
34; *cp.* ON. val, *n.*, Goth. walis,
adj.

wale, quick, moving, 460; in a w.
tyme, 396; *see Note.*

walke, *inf.* 257; *pp.* walked,
136; OE. wealcān.

walles, walls, 12; OE. weall.

walt, *v.* weldys.

waltered, *pp.* rolled, tossed about,
248; *cp.* Sw. vältra, MLG. wal-
teren, OE. *wealtan (*pp.* ge-
walten).

wandrynge, *pr. p.* 32; OE. wan-
drian.

wanhope, despair, 309, 373; OE.

wan + hōpa; *cp.* MDu. wanhope.

wanne, *v.* wyn.

w[a]re, *subj. pr. pl.* keep, guard,
442; *cp.* MDu. waren, ON. vara.

warmen, *inf.* 450; OE. wear-
mian.

GLOSSARY

warre, aware, 85; OE. wær.
wasschen, *inf.* wash, 268; OE.
wascan.

waste, *n.* 253, 473; OF. wast.
waste, *inf.* 450; *pr.* 2 *s.* wastis,
495; wastes, 439; 3 *s.* 230;
pp. waste[d], 408; OF. waster.
wastoure, waster, 242; wastour,
392; OF. waster + -our.

wate, *v.* wete.

watir, 44; OE. wæter.

wawes, waves, 13; *cp.* MLG. waga.

waxen, *inf.* become, 13; waxe,
373; OE. weaxan.

waye, 104; OE. weg.

waytten, *inf.* search for, 257; *pr.*
pl. wayte, wait, 437; *imp. s.*
watch, 475, 496; *pt.* 1 *s.* wayt-
ted, 85; 3 *s.* looked round, 213;
OF. waiter.

we, 5; *dat. acc. vs.* 205; OE. wē.

webbe, hangings, 64; OE. webb.

wedde, *inf.* 16; OE. weddian.

weddis, pledges, 284; OE. wedd.

wedir, weather, 437; OE. weder.

wedis, garments, 426; w[e]des,
420; OE. wāde.

wedowe, widow, 280; OE. wi-
duwe, weoduwe.

wee, *interj.* 282; OE. weg.

weghethe, *pr.* 3 *s.* weighs, 162;
OE. wegan.

welcome, *adj.* 212; OE. wil-
cuma, + ON. velkominn.

weldys, *pr.* 3 *s.* welds, 236; *pt.*
3 *s.* wait, 420; OE. (ge)weldan.

wele, wealth, 236, 322, 390, 495;
OE. wela.

wele, *v.* gud.

wellande, boiling, surging, 262,
351; ON. vella.

wenche, girl, 280; OE. wencel.

wende, *pr.* 1 *s.* go, 497; 3 *s.*
wiendes, 226; *imp. s.* wende,
104; *pr. pl. subj.* wend, 198;
pt. 1 *s.* went, 32; *pl.* wentten,
161; *pp.* went, turned about,
248; OE. wendan.

wene, *pr.* 1 *s.* think, 186; OE.
wenan.

wepyn, *inf.* 331; OE. wēpan.

wer, were, *v.* be, werre.

werke, *n.* work, 30, 216; OE.
weorc.

werlde, world, 8, 47; worlde,
262; OE. weorold.

werped, *pt. s.* cast up, 423; *pp.*
thrown up, 64; werpede,
thrown, filled, 250; OE. weor-
pan.

werre, war, 497; were, 140; OF.
werre; OHG. werra.

werse, *adj.* worse, 290; OE. wirsa,
wersa.

wery, *pr. pl.* curse, 437; *pr.* 3 *s.*
subj. 285; *pp.* weryed, 242;
OE. werian.

weste, 32; OE. west-.

westren, western, 8; OE. west-
erne.

Westwale, Westphalia, 140.

wete, *inf.* know, 216; wiete, 84;
pr. 1 *s.* wote, 161; 3 *s.* wiete,
200; *imp. s.* wate, 389; *pt.*
1 *s.* wiste, 47; 3 *s.* 120; OE.
witan.

whalles, whale's, 181; w. bone,
walrus tusk; OE. hwæl.

whatt, 192; whatte, 279; whate,
47; what, lo! 119; OE.
hwæt.

when, 9; OE. hwænne.

whete, wheat, 380; OE. hwæte.

whi, why, 219; OE. hwȳ.

while, *n.* time, 27, 437, 447; OE.
hwil; *cp.* whylome.

while, *conj.* 8; OE. hwil, *n.*

whils, till, 110; while, 154;
OE. hwil + -es.

white (*heraldic*), argent, 144;
whitte, 156; OE. hwit.

white-herede, white-haired, 150;
OE. hwit, hær + -ed.

who, 30; OE. hwā.

who-so, whoever, 18; OE. swā
hwā.

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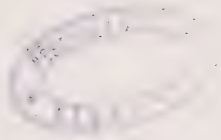
whylome, formerly, 20: OE. hwi-
 lum, *dat. pl.*; *cp.* whila.
 wiendes, *n.* wande.
 wiete, *n.* wete.
 wifes, *n.* wyfe.
 wightly, swiftly, 104: *cp.* ON.
vigt, adj. wigt.
 wikked, wicked, 285: wikkede,
 242: *cp.* OE. *wic*, *pp. stem of*
wican, to yield.
 wil, *n.* will.
 wilde, 15: wild, 885: OE. *wilde*.
 wilfully, 408: OE. *willu* + *fully*.
 will, *n.* will. wilfulness, 16:
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 will, *pr.* 1 s. 472: 2 s. 468: wolle,
 277: 3 s. will, 135: wil, 899:
pl. wil, 860: *pr.* 2 s. woldeste,
 875: woldest, 442: *pr.* 3 s. *subj.*
 wolde, 306: OE. *willan*.
 wilnes, *pr.* 3 s. wishes, 216: OE.
wilnian.
 wırche, *and* work, 37, 157: *pr.* 3 s.
 wrochte, made, 25, 414: *pp.*
 worked, 117: dressed, 71: OE.
wyrcan.
 wisse, *inf.* show, direct, 308: *pr.*
 3 s. wysses, 226: OE. *wissian*.
 wiste, *n.* wete.
 with, 5: by, 2, 818: towards,
 471: withe, with, 278: OE. *wip*.
 with-inn, 157: with-in, 357: OE.
witman.
 with-owt, 346: with-owten,
 24: OE. *witutan*.
 witness, 30: OE. *witnes*.
 witness, *pr.* *pl.* 190.
 witt, wisdom, craft, 5, 25: OE.
witt.
 witterly, certainly, 389: wittirly,
 200: ON. *witliga*.
 wod, mad, 373: wode, 465: OE.
wod.
 wodeckkes, woodcocks, 351: OE.
wuducoec.
 wodde, wood, 34: woid, 396:
 woodd, timber, 450: OE. *wudu*.

wodwales, woodwales, wood-
 peckers, 351: OE. *woda* + *OE.*
wod + *stronger*: *cp.* M.E. *wod-*
wal, M.E. *wodwail*, *cp.* *hedge-*
walles.
 wodwyse, satyr, 71: OE. *wadu-*
wisa.
 wolle, woldest, wolle, *n.* will.
 wolle, wood, 159, 360: OE. *woll*.
 wondres, *pr.* *pp.* 3 s. *subj.*
 390: OE. *wundran*.
 wondres, *n.* wonder.
 wone, *and* dwell, 386: *pr.* 3 s.
 wonnes, 143: *pr.* 3 s. *subj.*
 wonne, 477: OE. *wonan*.
 woo, we, 103: OE. *wu*.
 woodd, *n.* woodde.
 woriss, *n.* woriss's, 457: OE.
wor.
 worlde, *n.* worlde.
 worche, *inf.* be, become, 180, 155,
 166: worthen, 461: *pr.* 3 s.
 worthes, 370: *pr.* 3 s. *subj.*
 worthe, 146, 477: *imp.* s. *w.*
vg. come up, 282: OE. *weorðan*.
 worthinge, 36: OE. *weorðig*.
 worthiliche, noble, 34: OE.
weorðlic.
 worttes, vegetables, 345: OE.
wyr.
 wote, *n.* wete.
 wonder, *n.* wonder, 266: *pl.*
 wondres, 34: OE. *wundres*.
 wrake, harm, 156: OE. *wracan*.
 [wax] fuge, wrestling, 366: OE.
wracian.
 wretchede, wretched, 816: OE.
wrecca + *ed*.
 wreche, *inf.* anger, 466: *pr.* *pl.*
 396: OE. *wreccan*.
 wrethyn, *pp.* 3 s. *subj.* 71: OE.
wreccan.
 wriche, wreche, 816: OE. *wrecca*.
 wroghte, *n.* wreche.
 wrongs, *n.* 300: ON. *wrangr*.
mg. into OE. *wring*.
 wrothe, anger, 37: OE. *wrocca*,
cp. OE. *wroth*, *mg.*

GLOSSARY

wrothe, angry, 201; OE. *wrāp*.
 wrothly, angrily, 423; wrothely,
 324; OE. *wrāðlice*.
 wryeth, *pr.* 3 *s.* turns aside, per-
 verts, harms, 6; OE. *wrigian*.
 wy, man, 8, 120, 201; *pl.* *wyes*,
 136; OE. *wiga*.
 wyde, wide, 250; *adv.* 136; one
 w., 213; OE. *wid*.
 wydwhare, far and wide, 257;
 wyde-whare, 326; OE. *wide*
gehwār.
 wyfe, 280; *pl.* *wifes*, 395; OE. *wif*.
 wy[li], wily, 6; OE. *wil* + -y.
 wyl[li], *v.* will.
 wyn, *inf.* win, 390; *wynn*, 179;
pr. 1 *s.* 230; *pl.* *wyn*, 442;
pl. 3 *s.* *wanne*, 162; OE. *win-*
nan.
 wyndowe, 475; ON. *vindauga*.
 wyne, wine, 189, 213; OE. *wīn*.
 wynges, *pl.* (*heraldic*) feathers,
 92, 117; *wyng[es]*, wings,
 473; ON. *vāngr*.

wynner, 392; *wynnere*, 222;
 OE. *winnan* + -er.
wynnynge, *n.* 161; OE. *winnan*
 + -ing.
wyntter, winter, 275; *gen. s.*
wyntt[e]res, 266; *pl.* *wyntere*,
 206; *wyntter*, 299; OE. *win-*
ter, *pl.* *wintru*.
wyre, 118; OE. *wīr*.
wyse, manner, 75; OE. *wīse*.
wyse, wise, 11; OE. *wīs*.
wysses, *v.* *wisse*.
ylike, all alike, 48; OE. *gelīce*.
ymbryne dayes, Ember Days,
 310; OE. *ymbren-dæg*.
ynche, *pl.* inches, 341; OE.
ynce.
ynewe, enough, 84; OE. *genōh*.
Ynglonde, England, 79.
Ynglysse, English, 61.
yow, *v.* *je*.
yren, *v.* *iren*.
Yrlonde, Ireland, 141.



SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS

SAINT ERKENWALD

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4 reproach.

SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS

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IV

ST. ERKENWALD

(BISHOP OF LONDON 675–693)

An Alliterative Poem, written about 1386,
narrating a Miracle wrought by the Bishop
in St. Paul's Cathedral



HUMPHREY MILFORD: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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1922

ERKENWALDE, CHRISTI LAMPAS AUREA,
TUA SANCTA PRECE NOSTRA DELE FACINORA.
QUATENUS TE COLLODANTES STELLATA
GRATULARI TECUM POSCIMUS IN PALACIA,
UBI NOVA DOMINO REBOANTES CANTICA
CONSONA VOCE JUBILEMUS ALLELUJA.'

*From Sequence for the Office of St. Erkenwald.*¹

¹ See Sparrow Simpson's *Documents Illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1880.

PREFACE

The Manuscript. *St. Erkenwald* is preserved in one manuscript, Brit. Mus. Harl. 2250, ff. 72 b-75 a. This paper manuscript, which belongs to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is a miscellany, mainly of religious poetry, including a portion of the South English Legendary.¹ A defective version of the *Speculum Christiani* of John Watton, in the manuscript, ends with the date 1477 as the year when the scribe copied the piece. The present poem is headed 'De Erkenwaldo', though the head-lines vary, giving either 'De sancto Erkenwald' or 'De sancto Erkenwaldo episcopo'. Our poem is in the same hand as the main part of the manuscript, the contents of which, whatever their origin, are in the Northern dialect. Some late glosses, of little interest, indicate that some one in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century attempted to read the present poem.

Certain names found in the manuscript are of interest. 'Ser Thomas boker has Thys boke', f. 8, is a claim to ownership, in a legal hand of the sixteenth century, which is further attested by a slightly later hand, 'syr Thomas bowker mine emys', *i. e.* Sir Thomas Bowker my uncle's [book], f. 71. 'Eme' is suggestively northern. I have not been able to trace Sir Thomas Bowker as knight, and it seems quite

¹ For the contents of the MS. see *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.*, British Museum; C. Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, 1875, p. xxxviii; Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the MSS. Dept.*, British Museum, vol. ii, pp. 690, 738; Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. i, p. 314 (see also MS. Add. 38666).

possible that the addition was used by him for marking his clerical position as parson or chaplain. Other names are Thomas Masse (? Mosse), f. 64 b, and what looks like Neltho Norton, f. 75 b. Some jottings are of interest, as for example against the words 'How longe had he *per layne*', l. 95, we find 'we redyn in a boke' followed by a word or two illegible, and a reference in one of the margins of f. 75 b to 'Ryght reuerrynd Sodor', before which last word is a mark resembling a Y.

But transcending in interest all these annotations is a marginal entry running along the length of the page, looking like an attempt on the part of some one to write out a legal formula, the words being as follows: 'Noueint vniuersi per presentes nos Eesebyt (? = Elsebyt) bothe of dunnam (wrongly contracted) in the comytye (= county) of Chester in the comythe', followed out of line by what looks like 'edmund'. Now Dr. W. L. Ward, in his *Catalogue*, suggested that this entry, with the name of Elsebyt Bothe of Dunham Massey, might have reference to Elizabeth, daughter of George Booth, and wife of Richard Sutton. This would give us about 1566 as date for the entry. But Elizabeth was a common name in the great Booth family, and there was an earlier Elizabeth Booth. This matter, however, cannot be determined. For me, the point of striking value is that the book, in some way or other, was connected with a member of the famous Lancashire and Cheshire family of Booth, who were settled at Dunham Massey, and from whom came the great bishop and statesman, Laurence Booth, and his half-brothers, William, Archbishop of York, and John, Bishop of Exeter. Laurence Booth was one of the outstanding figures of his age, a Cambridge man, Master of his College, Pembroke Hall, from 1450 to the date of his death in 1480, Chancellor of the University, Chancellor to Queen Margaret, Keeper of the

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Privy Seal, Bishop of Durham, Archbishop of York, identified for some six or seven years with St. Paul's Cathedral, as prebendary in 1449, and after various promotions, as Dean in 1456. His brothers also figure on the roll of the prebendaries. It is not, perhaps, allowing one's fancy too much liberty to imagine that the preservation of *St. Erkenwald* may be due to this West Midland prelate, statesman, and man of law, who as Dean of St. Paul's must have known the poem, and as a West Midland man would have been specially interested in its form and language. Treasured among his books, the poem may well have been copied into this collection of religious pieces prepared for him towards the end of his life. The book remained in his family, and some time or other some one, evidently intimate with his kinswoman, Elizabeth Booth of Dunham Massey, practised his hand in legal formulae, little deeming of the inference deducible, or at all events hazarded, from the evidence of the crude script. In the light of what I shall later attempt to prove, namely, that the poem, specifically a London poem, was written in London by a West Country man, this association of the manuscript with one of the greatest western families, whose most distinguished representative was for a time the custodian of St. Erkenwald's shrine, deserves more than a passing notice.

St. Erkenwald was printed in 1881 by Dr. Horstmann in *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn), with some fifty brief foot-notes to the text, a short summary of the poem, and some nine lines of introduction. So far, the poem has not been edited, and although it has been the subject of much general speculation, its textual problems, its interpretation, and the question of its metrical arrangement have remained unsolved, to say nothing of the important relation of the poem to fourteenth-century alliterative poetry, more especially in its relation to contemporary London.

The present edition is based on a fresh transcript of the manuscript. Apart from interpretations and readings, and from emendations indicated by square brackets or obeli, it differs from the previous text in its quatrain arrangement.¹ As far as the expansion of contractions is concerned, the curl in the manuscript after final -n is regarded by me as being merely ornamental, or as originally indicating that the letter was -n and not -u. Accordingly, the former expansion into -ne has been rejected throughout. In the Textual and General Notes will be found all the deviations from the manuscript.

Summary of the Poem. After the coming of St. Augustine, when Erkenwald was Bishop of London, there befell a miracle in St. Paul's Cathedral, which had formerly been a heathen temple. During the rebuilding of the minster, or rather that part of it which was called 'New Work', in the crypt below was found a noble tomb of gray marble, richly ornamented, with vaulted canopy, and inscribed about with bright letters of gold, that could not be interpreted in spite of the efforts of all the clerks in the cathedral close. The news of the wonder spread throughout the town. Many hundreds rushed thither—burgesses, beadles, guildsmen. Apprentices struck work and hied to St. Paul's, and in a short spell it seemed as if the whole world had assembled there. The Mayor and his officers, by assent of the sacristan, took charge of the place. They bade that the lid should be taken off the tomb; and lo, the inside was all richly painted with gold. Therein lay a body, royally attired, with gown hemmed with bright gold and precious pearls, with girdle also of gold. Over the robe was a furred mantle. On the head was a coif, and set above it was a crown; the hands held a noble sceptre.

¹ See Prefaces to *Cleanness* and *Patience* in *Select Early English Poems*, ed. Sir I. Gollancz.

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So fresh and untouched were both body and garb, it seemed that the burial must have been but of yesterday. Yet no one could find any record thereof in book or in tale.

Bishop Erkenwald was visiting an abbey in Essex, when news reached him of this excitement in town. He sent messages entreating the people to keep quiet, and as soon as possible journeyed thither himself. When he reached St. Paul's, many hastened to tell him of the marvel. He entered his palace, commanded silence, went alone into a chamber and closed the door. All night he prayed that it might be vouchsafed him to understand the mystery, and he was conscious that the Holy Ghost had granted him his boon. When 'matins' had been sung, the minster doors were opened, and the Bishop in full pontificals, attended by his clergy, began the Mass of the Holy Spirit, amid the music of the choir. It was a noble congregation that was present. When the service was ended, the procession passed from the altar. As the bishop came into the body of the church, some of the great lords present joined him, and, vested as he was, he went towards the tomb. The crypt was unlocked, and it was difficult to control the great crowd that pressed after him. In front of the tomb the bishop took his stand, barons beside him; and there, too, was the mayor with the city magnates, the mace-bearers in front. The dean told what had befallen, and with his finger indicated the finding of that marvel. In their necrology there was no mention of such a one. They had searched the cathedral library for seven whole days, but of this king they could not find any record.¹ Save by some miracle, he could not have lain there so long as so entirely to pass out of memory. With gentle rebuke the bishop more hopefully urged that what seemed marvellous

¹ There is an earlier interesting reference to the library of St. Paul's in the thirteenth-century *Miracles of the Virgin* in French, where in the

to men was easy to the Lord. When the creature's powers are all at a loss, it behoves him to seek help from the Creator.

Turning then to the tomb, he bade the corse, in Christ's name, to tell who it was and why it lay there, how long it had thus rested, what was its faith, whether it was 'joined to joy, or judged to pain'. As he spoke, the bishop sighed. Thereupon the body moved slightly, and with a dreary voice it told how, through the potency of the Name, it could not but speak and declare the whole truth. He was, alas, one of the unhappiest of mortals, he was neither king nor kaiser nor knight, he was a man of the law that formerly obtained in the land. He was a judge appointed for important causes in that city under a pagan prince, and he himself was of like pagan faith. He had been a 'justice in eyre' in New Troy in the reign of King Belin. The multitude stood hushed as these words were uttered; many of them wept. Then the bishop asked why it was, as he had not been king, that he wore the crown; and why he bore the sceptre, seeing he had no land or vassals, nor power over life and limb. Whereupon the body spake again. Crown and sceptre were placed on him, but not by his will. For forty years he had been chief judge—Justiciar—in London under a noble duke, and had endured much in his endeavour to keep the people to the right. For no gain on earth did he swerve from conscience; neither riches nor rank, neither menace nor mischief nor pity, influenced his judgements. 'Though it had been my father's murderer, I harboured no bias; nor would I have favoured my father, though hanging were his due.'

Prologue it is stated that the author did not invent the miracles, but found them in a book in the 'almarie', i.e. library, of St. Paul's.

'Jo lai de saint pol del almarie.

De saint pol de la noble iglise.

Ki en lundres est bien assise.'

(Ward, *Romances*, vol. ii, p. 709.)

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When he died, all Troy mourned, because of his great justice, and they buried him in that golden tomb. They clad him in that robe as most gracious of judges, in that mantle as meekest and manliest on bench. The fur set thereon was for his perfect faith; the girdle betokened his noble governance of Troy. In honour of his fair fame exceeding all, they crowned him appraised king of noble justices, and because he ever looked to what was just, they placed the sceptre within his hand.

The bishop then asked him how, though his body might thus have been kept embalmed, the colour and substance of his garb had remained so fresh. It had not been embalmed, answered the corse; nor had human craft kept its robes so spotless. The All-wise King, Who loves justice above all things, had vouchsafed that it might remain uncorrupted so long.

‘What sayest thou of thy soul?’ then asked the bishop. ‘How is thy soul bestead, if thou wroughtest so well? He that rewards each man as he has acted aright, could ill deny thee some branch of His grace.’ The body moved its head and groaned, and then cried out, ‘How for Thy mercy could I ever hope? Was I not a pagan, who never knew Thee nor Thy laws, alas the day! I was not of those Thou didst rescue from Limbo; I remained there behind, exiled from the Heavenly Feast, where they are refreshed who hungered after righteousness.’ All wept as they heard the moaning of the corse; the bishop himself could not speak for sobbing. He paused; then turning to the body where it lay, his tears falling the while, spake thus: ‘God grant thee but to live till I get water and may baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost!’ And as he uttered the words, he let fall a tear on the face of the corse. ‘Praised be our Saviour,’ the corse then exclaimed, ‘praised

be Thou, great God, and Thy gracious Mother; blessed be the blissful hour she bore Thee; and blessed be thou, bishop, the cure of my care, who hast relieved the heavy gloom wherein my soul has dwelt. The words that thou spakest, and the tears of thine eyes, have become my baptism; my soul even now is seated at the Table. With the words and the water there flashed a gleam into the abyss, and amid richest mirth my spirit passed into that Upper Room, where sup the faithful. A marshal met it there with sovereign grace, and with reverence assigned to it a place for evermore. My high God praise I, and also thee, bishop—blessed be thou!’ The voice then ceased, the body fell to dust.

‘All the beauty of the body was black as the mould,
As rotten as the rottock that rises in dust.

For as soon as the soul was seised in bliss,
Corrupt was the cumbrance that covered the bones;
For life everlasting, that lessen shall never,
Makes void each vain glory availing so little.

Then was there laud to our Lord, with uplifted hands,
Much mourning and mirth commingled together;
They passed forth in procession, the people all followed,
And all the bells in London-town burst forth at once.’

The Prologue. A Prologue precedes the poem, telling that in the time of St. Erkenwald, Bishop of London, one part of St. Paul’s, formerly a heathen temple, had been pulled down for rebuilding; and the poet briefly explains how the pagan Saxons had driven out the Britons, and had perverted the people of London, who had previously been Christians. This realm had remained heathen for many years, until St. Augustine was sent by the pope. He converted the people again to Christianity; he turned heathen temples into churches; in place of idols he set up saints. He changed the old dedications—Apollo to St. Peter,

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Mahoun to St. Margaret or St. Mary Magdalene. 'The Synagogue of the Sun' was dedicated to our Lady. Thus St. Augustine consecrated to Christian use what had been the Seat of Satan in the days of Saxon heathendom. At that time London was called New Troy; it has ever been the metropolis and chief town. Its great temple was dedicated to a mighty devil, and bore his name. This devil was the most honoured of all idols in Saxon lands. There were then three metropolitan cities in Britain, each with its great temple, and London's 'Temple Triapolitan'—'þe thrid temple hit wos tolde of Triapolitanes'—became, after St. Augustine's mission, the Minster of St. Paul.

The alliterative poets found special delight in preludeing their poems with references to the legend that linked Britain with Brutus, the eponymous Trojan who first settled the land. But this miracle of Erkenwald, connecting Christian London with pagan Troynovant, called for a prologue dealing with heathen England, and more especially with St. Augustine's conversion of the Saxons, and with the transformation of heathen temples into Christian churches. The reference to Brutus was to find due place in the poem itself.

The main source of our poet's knowledge was certainly Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*. His references to the driving of the Britons into Wales by the Saxons, to the perversion of the folk who remained (more particularly those of London), and to the apostasy of Britain till the coming of St. Augustine, are clearly derived from Book XI, chs. viii–xii. When, however, our poet proceeds with the statement regarding the hurling out of the heathen idols and the dedications of the temples as churches, he is rightly transferring to St. Augustine the account given in Geoffrey concerning Lucius, the first British king to embrace the Christian faith. In Book IV, ch. xix, it is told how in his

time and at his request two holy men had been sent to Britain by Pope Eleutherius. After they had almost extinguished paganism throughout the whole island, they dedicated the temples, that had been founded in honour of many gods, to the one God and His saints, and filled them with congregations of Christians. In Book V, ch. i, we are told that Lucius rejoiced at the great progress which the true faith had made in his kingdom, and permitted the possessions and territories which formerly belonged to the temples of the gods to be converted *to better uses* and appropriated to Christian churches. Lucius died in A.D. 156. Here we clearly have the source of ' & chargit hom better ' (l. 18).

So far as St. Augustine's consecration of a heathen temple for Christian worship is concerned, his name is associated with St. Pancras, Canterbury, which was the first church dedicated by him. This, as the historian Thorn tells us, was originally 'a temple or idol-house, where King Ethelbert used to pray according to the rites of his nation and in company with his nobles, "to sacrifice to devils and not to God". This temple', Thorn continues, 'Augustine purified from the pollutions and defilements of the Gentiles, and breaking the image which was in it, converted the synagogue into a church.' He states as follows: 'Phanum sive ydolum situm, ubi rex Ethelbertus secundum ritum gentis suae solebat orare, et cum nobilibus suis daemoniis et non Deo sacrificare. Quod phanum Augustinus ab inquinamentis et sordibus gentilium purgavit, et simulacro quod in ea erat confracto synagogam mutavit in ecclesiam.'¹

Our poet evidently knew from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* St. Gregory's famous letter to the Abbot Mellitus concerning

¹ From the *Chronicle* of William Thorn, fl. 1397 (see Mason, *Mission of St. Augustine*, p. 94), whose work up to the year 1228 was mainly from Sprott's *History of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*; Sprott flourished about 1270.

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the heathen temples in England. 'When Almighty God brings you through to our brother the Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have long been turning over in my thoughts in reference to the English; namely, not to let the idol temples be destroyed in that nation, but to have the idols in them destroyed. Holy water should be made and sprinkled in the temples, altars built, and relics placed there. For if the temples are well built, they ought to be converted from the worship of demons to the service of the true God; so that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may put away error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may come with more of the sense of being at home to the familiar places.'¹

Our poet does not refer specifically to the foundation of St. Pancras, but his instances are noteworthy:

(1) 'That ere was of Apollo is now of Saint Peter' (l. 19). It was a well-known tradition that a church to St. Peter was erected by Seberht, king of the East Saxons, out of the remains of a temple of Apollo that stood on its site at Thorney, *i.e.* Westminster. Concerning the history of Westminster Abbey, and the early legends connected with the foundation, see the History of the Abbey by John Flete, who was a monk of the house from 1420 to 1465. The work, well known and often quoted, was first edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster, in 1909. The first document given by Flete claims to be from an ancient Anglo-Saxon chronicle; but

¹ *The Mission of St. Augustine to England according to the Original Documents*, ed. Professor A. J. Mason, Cambridge, 1897, p. 89. Compare *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. Dr. Charles Plummer, Oxford, 1896, Bk. I, ch. xxx, with the notes to the chapter. I think we may safely assume that the passage concerning Lucius in Geoffrey of Monmouth was due, by a very natural application, to this passage in Bede's *History*. See also Sir Henry Howorth's *Saint Augustine of Canterbury*, 1913.

according to the editor, it cannot be much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. It gives an account of 'the first foundation of the church by King Lucius in A. D. 184, its degradation to be a temple of Apollo after the Diocletian persecution, its reconstruction by King Sebert and its consecration by St. Peter "in the spirit"'. Flete states that the pagan Angles and Saxons, having driven out the Christian Britons, erected altars and temples to their own gods. He then adds these words: 'rediit itaque veteris abominationis ubique sententia; a sua Britones expelluntur patria; immolat Dianae Londonia, *thurificat Apollini suburbanæ Thorneia*.'

(2) Possibly the reference to Westminster Abbey prompted 'Mahound to Saint Margaret', which immediately follows, though there were many other churches in London dedicated to St. Margaret besides the parish church of Westminster. There is nothing specific in 'Mahon', which, like its variant 'Maumet', was applied to any false god or idol, under the common mediaeval idea that the false prophet was worshipped as a divinity.

(3) 'The Synagogue of the Sun was set to our Lady' (l. 21). In the whole poem there is perhaps nothing more striking than this fine alliterative line, the significance of which has hitherto not been recognized. In thinking of instances to illustrate the conversion of heathen temples into Christian churches, our poet recalled from his reading of Geoffrey of Monmouth how King Bladud, the father of King Leir, built Kaerbadus, now Bath, and made hot baths in it for the benefit of the people, which he dedicated to the goddess Minerva, in whose temple he kept fires 'that never went out nor consumed to ashes, but as soon as they began to decay, were turned into balls of stone'. Now the Latin name for Bath, *Aquae Solis*, is said to be a Romanizing of the name of the divinity worshipped at Bath, namely Sul, whom the

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Romans identified with Minerva. The Roman remains which were found under the site of the present Pump Room are the clearest evidence of the grandeur of the temples dedicated to Sul Minerva, whose image has been discovered, together with several altars and many other remains, including a tombstone with the name of one of her priests, and also portions of the pediment of the temple with the great round sun-like face which was in the middle of it, perhaps one of the most remarkable relics of Celtic Britain.

Camden and other antiquaries maintain that the Abbey Church stands where once was a temple consecrated to Minerva. On the other hand, according to the *Red Book of Bath*, in a statement added in 1582, it would appear that it was the old church of St. Mary de Stabula, *i.e.* St. Mary Stall, that had been built upon the ruins of a temple to Minerva, some of the ruins being actually then in existence.¹ The greatest authority on Roman Britain, the late Professor Haverfield, summing up the evidence on the subject in the *Victoria History of Somerset*, vol. i, p. 229, asserts that ‘while we admit a temple to Minerva, we shall find no evidence that it stood on the site either of the Abbey or of the now vanished church of St. Mary Stall’, and he adds in a foot-note that the reference in the *Red Book of Bath* was more probably due to antiquarian theory than to fact, otherwise we should have heard of it from Leland or Camden; elsewhere he states that no one else mentions a ruin, and that it seems merely a bit of sixteenth-century antiquarianism. But I venture to think that the present line gives the missing evidence, for here our author, who may be assumed to be speaking from actual knowledge or local tradition, chooses out for special mention the Temple of the Sun, *i.e.* of Sul Minerva at Bath, as

¹ Est istud epitaphium sculptum a dextra in ostio ruinosi templi quondam Minervae dedicati, et adhuc in loco dicto sese studiosis offerens.

having been consecrated to our Lady. His statement tends to confirm the evidence afforded by the fact that the remains of the temple were found for the most part in Stall Street, *i.e.* near the site of the now no longer existing church of St. Mary Stall. It is quite likely that some vestiges of the old temple still existed in the fourteenth century, and that the reference, even as late as 1582, in the *Red Book of Bath*, is not merely due, as Professor Haverfield maintained, to antiquarian imagination. In my opinion, however, the absence of any reference thereto in Camden and Leland is not conclusive, for one could point to many noteworthy omissions in the works of both these antiquaries. Further, I am inclined to hold that we have other corroborative evidence enforcing the view I venture to set forth. In Layamon's *Brut*, written early in the thirteenth century, in the rendering of the passage quoted above from Geoffrey of Monmouth concerning Bladud as the founder of Bath and the builder of the temple to Minerva, we have (in the older of the two manuscripts of the poem) an interesting amplification, with the statement that he called Minerva 'læfdi', *i.e.* lady, and that the perpetual fire that burned in the temple was 'to the worship of his lady, who was dear to him in heart':

‘to wrðscipe his læfdi,
þe leof him wes on heorten,’¹

Is not this interpolation a reference to the Church of Our Lady, St. Mary at Stall,² as existing in Layamon's time on the site of the pagan temple to Minerva, whom Bladud called 'his lady'? Layamon, who lived not so very far from Bath, would certainly have been acquainted with the history and traditions of the city. It is worth while noting, in dealing

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with the story of Bladud, that Geoffrey of Monmouth tells how that weird king, who first attempted to fly to the upper regions of the air with wings which he had prepared, fell down upon the temple of Apollo in the city of Trinovantum, *i.e.* New Troy, where he was dashed to pieces.¹

Before leaving the subject of ancient Bath, and references thereto in these early poems, I cannot forgo the mention of the earliest of all allusions in English literature to its ruins which already in Anglo-Saxon times seem to have inspired no mean poet. In lines preserved in the *Exeter Book* we have, as Professor Earle, in my view, convincingly maintained, a description of the old Brito-Roman ruined city as left devastated after A. D. 577 :

‘Bright were the buildings, the bath-houses many,
High-towered the pinnacles, frequent the war-clang,
Many the mead-halls, of merriment full,
Till all was overturned by Fate the violent . . .
There stood courts of stone! The stream hotly rushed
With eddy wide (wall all enclosed),
With bosom bright (there the baths were),
Hot in its nature, that was a boon indeed.’²

The alliterative formula ‘Synagoge of þe Sonne’ was an echo of ‘Synagoga Satanac’, *i.e.* synagogue of Satan; and in l. 24 the poet refers to the ‘seat of Satan’ (Rev. ii. 13). It should be noted that *synagoga* or ‘synagoge’ was common in Latin as in Middle English in the sense of a heathen temple.

(4) The mention of Jupiter and Juno, as yielding to Jesus or James, has no definite significance, and the seeming identifi-

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having been consecrated to our Lady. His statement tends to confirm the evidence afforded by the fact that the remains of the temple were found for the most part in Stall Street, *i. e.* near the site of the now no longer existing church of St. Mary Stall. It is quite likely that some vestiges of the old temple still existed in the fourteenth century, and that the reference, even as late as 1582, in the *Red Book of Bath*, is not merely due, as Professor Haverfield maintained, to antiquarian imagination. In my opinion, however, the absence of any reference thereto in Camden and Leland is not conclusive, for one could point to many noteworthy omissions in the works of both these antiquaries. Further, I am inclined to hold that we have other corroborative evidence enforcing the view I venture to set forth. In Layamon's *Brut*, written early in the thirteenth century, in the rendering of the passage quoted above from Geoffrey of Monmouth concerning Bladud as the founder of Bath and the builder of the temple to Minerva, we have (in the older of the two manuscripts of the poem) an interesting amplification, with the statement that he called Minerva 'læfdi', *i. e.* lady, and that the perpetual fire that burned in the temple was 'to the worship of his lady, who was dear to him in heart':

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cations are due to alliterative effect, as in the case of 'Maude-layne' (l. 20), alliterating with 'Margrete'.

(5) The poet then passes again to London, and deals specifically with the heathen temple that, after the conversion of the East Saxons, became the Cathedral of St. Paul's. He tells how a mighty devil was worshipped in that great minster of London, 'the metropolis',¹ then called New Troy. The Saxon temple was called after its idol, which was the greatest divinity in Saxon lands. It is strange that the author avoids giving the name of the heathen god. Old legends of St. Paul's conjectured that 'a temple of Diana formerly stood here',² but our poet, in touching on Saxon paganism, had no need to take cognizance of this legend. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. VI, ch. x, it is told in a famous passage how Hengist, on arriving in Kent, was conducted into the presence of Vortigern, who was then at Canterbury, and in a great speech explained how he and his brother Horsa, under the good guidance of Mercury, had arrived in that kingdom. The historian then tells that the king, at the name of Mercury, looked earnestly upon them, and asked them what religion they professed. 'We worship', replied Hengist, 'our country gods, Saturn and Jupiter, and the other deities that govern the world, but especially Mercury, whom in our language we call Woden, and to whom our ancestors consecrated the fourth day of the week, still called after his name Wodensday. Next to him we worship the powerful goddess Frea, to whom they also dedicated the sixth day, which after her name we call Friday.' The poet is dealing, as he himself says, with the heathendom of London 'in Hengist's days'. It was ingenious on his part,

¹ He evidently got the term 'metropol' from Bede II, ch. iii, where 'Lundonia civitas' is described as the 'Orientalium Saxonum . . . metropolis', the metropolis of the East Saxons.

² Camden's *Britannia*, 1789, vol. ii, p. 5.

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with the passage just quoted before him, to infer (for I can discover no legendary authority for it) that Mercury, or rather Woden, was in pagan Saxon times the presiding 'devil' of the heathen temple later consecrated to St. Paul. Woden among the Teutons was the highest divinity, and was later identified with Mercury. In the *Germania* of Tacitus¹ it is clearly stated, 'deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent' (ch. 9). Similarly Caesar (Bk. VI, ch. 17, § 1) mentions Mercury as the chief god of the Gauls, and Tacitus seems to be echoing Caesar's words with reference to the Germanic divinity. The value of Caesar's observation is that he enumerates the functions of Mercurius as the basis of his identification: 'hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem; hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur.' The name of the fourth day of the week, *dies Mercurii* (in its various Romance forms), our Wednesday, affords an interesting example of the *interpretatio Romana*, which attempted to identify with Latin gods and goddesses the divinities of other pagan cults.

The old tradition that St. Paul's Cathedral was built on the site of a temple to Diana is a legend closely connected with Brute's foundation of Troynovant, seeing that the Trojan hero was led to seek out Britain, as Geoffrey of Monmouth narrates, by that goddess's prophetic utterance, which came to him in a vision:

'Brute! sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est undique clausa mari:
Insula in oceano est habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.

¹ *Germania*, ed. H. Furneaux, Oxford, 1894. On Woden and Mercury, see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. Stallybrass, 1882, vol. i, chs. vi, vii, and relevant notes, vol. iii.

Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis:
 Sic fiet natis altera Troia tuis.
 Sic de prole tua reges nascentur: et ipsis
 Totius terrae subditus orbis erit.’¹

That the legend existed in the Middle Ages is attested by the old manuscript quoted in the *History of Westminster Abbey*, by John Flete, already referred to, where occur the striking words, already quoted, with reference to the driving out of the Britons by the pagan Saxons: ‘immolat Dianae Londonia, thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia.’

Even in the seventeenth century, Bishop Corbet rhetorically exclaimed: ‘It was once dedicated to Diana, at least some part of it; but the idolatry lasted not long; and see a mystery in the change: St. Paul confuting twice the Idol: there, in person, where the cry was, “Great is Diana of the Ephesians!” and here, by proxy, Paul installed while Diana is thrust out.’² Dugdale, in his *History of St. Paul’s*, taking cognizance of what has been stated on the subject, thought it probable enough that in the place where Ethelbert, King of Kent, had built St. Paul’s, there had been a temple of the goddess Diana. He was inclined to accept the evidence which Camden adduced, namely, ‘the structure near at hand, called Diana’s Chambers, and the multitude of ox-heads digged up, when the east part thereof was rebuilt (*temp.* Edward I), which were then thought to be the relics of the Gentiles’ sacrifices’.³ Sir Christopher Wren, according to the *Memoirs* compiled by his son, did not credit the common story that a temple to Diana had stood there. If there had been such a temple, he supposed that it might have been within the walls of the Colony and more to the south.⁴

¹ Bk. I, ch. 11.

² *History of St. Paul’s*, by W. Longman.

³ Dugdale’s *History of St. Paul’s Cathedral*, 1658, p. 8.

⁴ *Parentalia*, compiled by Christopher Wren, and pub. 1750, pp. 266, 286.

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There can, however, be little doubt that Diana was worshipped in Roman London, for on the site of Goldsmiths' Hall there was found an altar dedicated to the goddess, still preserved at Goldsmiths' Hall; this site, however, is some way from the Cathedral. Diana's Chambers, which were on Paul's Wharf Hill, according to a local tradition referred rather to Henry II's Fair Rosamund: 'as he had called her at Woodstock *Rosa Mundi*, so here he called her *Diana*'.¹

The last two lines of the Prologue, referring to St. Paul's as the third temple Triapolitan, take us again to the statement in Geoffrey telling how the sacerdotal functionaries in heathen Britain were transformed in the time of Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain, into a Christian hierarchy, and how the three chief centres of paganism became the three great metropolitan cities of Christian Britain. Hence the poet's 'Triapolitanes', an erroneous formation for 'tripolitans' in the sense of a trinity of metropolitan cities; cp. Tripolis and 'tripolitanus'. The form of the word reminds one of 'trialogus' (on the supposed analogy of 'dialogue'). 'Trialogue', however, is first recorded in English in the sixteenth century; but it is noteworthy that Wyclif uses the Med. Latin 'trialogus' as the title of one of his Latin works, conjectured to belong to the year 1383.

To sum up, our poet may be credited with having taken into account the legendary history of St. Paul's as follows: a heathen temple (dedicated probably to Diana) in the earliest days of Troynovant; its Christianizing, as one of the three Metropolitan British churches, in the time of Lucius; its perversion to paganism by the Saxons; its rededication, after the mission of St. Augustine, as St. Paul's Cathedral. In the time of the British King Belin, the temple was of course the

¹ Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, 1881, p. 70.

seat of heathen worship, and was dedicated to some heathen divinity. It is strange that in this connexion the poet nowhere refers to Diana. Can it be that he is thinking of the exalted type of paganism described with reference to the conversion of Britain to Christianity by Lucius:—‘There were then in Britain eight and twenty flamens, as also three archflamens, to whose jurisdiction the other judges and enthusiasts were subject . . . where there were flamens [they] made them bishops, where archflamens, archbishops. The seats of the archflamens were the three noblest cities, viz., London, York, and the City of Legions.’¹ As regards the dedication of the heathen temples, it is merely there stated, as has been mentioned already, that they had been founded in honour of many gods, and were now dedicated to the one only God and His saints.

Accordingly, the Prologue ends by stating that the Saxon heathen temple in London had been formerly accounted one of the three Metropolitan seats. These in the time of the British Lucius had been established in place of the three Metropolitan seats of the British archflamens.

Our poet seems to show a fine sense of antiquarianism² in his suggestion that the pagan Saxon dedication was to Woden, to whom the earliest Anglo-Saxon kings traced their genealogies. ‘The adoration of Woden’, as Grimm puts it, ‘must reach up to immemorial times, a long way beyond the first notices given us by the Romans of Mercury’s worship in Germania.’³

¹ Geoffrey, as above, Bk. IV, ch. 19.

² This was probably due to his interpretation of Bede’s statement, Bk. II, ch. 6, ‘Mellitum vero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus servire gaudentes’. Green and other modern historians take the same view, though Gomme, in his *Governance of London*, 1907, pp. 109–13, traverses, erroneously in my view, Green’s statement on the subject.

³ *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. i, p. 164, trans. Stallybrass. Bede in his account of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, refers to the pedigrees of the kings from Woden, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 15.

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It would seem that during the early Middle Ages this pagan divinity still presided over German cities, even as, with reference to the image of Mercurius at Rome, it is recorded in the *Kaiserchronik* :

‘Upon a column
Stood an idol huge,
Him they called their merchant.’¹

Woden, or Mercury, the god of traffickers and merchantmen, would have been singularly appropriate as the presiding idol of the City of London.

St. Erkenwald. The most famous of London’s early bishops was Saint Erkenwald, who, fourth in succession after St. Augustine’s mission, was consecrated in the year 675 as bishop of the East Saxons.² Sprung from a royal house, Erkenwald had previously founded two monasteries, the one at Chertsey in Surrey, over which he himself presided, and the other in Essex, at Barking, for his sister, in which, as Bede puts it, ‘she might live as teacher and foster-mother of women devoted to God. When she took over the government of the monastery, she showed herself in all things worthy to rank with the bishop her brother by a life of piety and discipline, as was afterwards also proved by heavenly marvels.’

¹ See Grimm, as before, vol. i, p. 116; vol. iv, p. 1322. The word I have rendered ‘column’ is the difficult word ‘ymensûle’ in the original.

² Cp. Bede, IV. vi. ‘Tum etiam Orientalibus Saxonibus . . . Earconwaldum constituit episcopum in civitate Lundonia.’ So our poet calls Erkenwald ‘a byschop in þat burghe’ (l. 3), and ‘bischoþ at loue London ton’ (l. 34). Erkenwald appears to have been the first bishop of London with St. Paul’s as seat. He might well be considered the traditional founder of the Cathedral. His predecessor Wine was held to be unworthy, having bought the see ‘with a price’. Cedd, the second bishop, was a missionary bishop with no fixed seat, while a period of idolatry succeeded the expulsion of Mellitus, the famous first bishop of London, at whose instance Ethelbert had built the church of St. Paul’s.

See the article on Erkenwald, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. ii, 177-9, by Bishop Stubbs, and the Rev. W. Hunt’s article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Our poet is evidently referring to Bishop Erkenwald's association with this Essex foundation, when he states that at the time of the discovery of the tomb he 'was parted from home, in Essex was Sir Erkenwald an abbey to visit'. He is said to have done much for the fabric of the cathedral, and was *par excellence* the great bishop of St. Paul's. Many legends attested his holiness, 'as was proved subsequently by signs of heavenly miracles', to quote again from Bede. It was by a miracle that it was decided that his body should be carried to London and buried at St. Paul's, for it would appear that he had died at Barking, and the monks of Chertsey strove with the nuns of Barking for the privileged possession of the bishop's body. He died on April 30, 693. His shrine was the chief glory of Old St. Paul's. Canon Sparrow Simpson states that he was buried in the nave; that in the great fire of London in 1087-8, when the cathedral was destroyed, the legends say that the saint's resting-place alone escaped injury. In 1148 his remains were placed in the east side of the wall above the high altar; in 1326 an even more glorious shrine received them. St. Erkenwald's Shrine at St. Paul's was famous far and wide, and jewels and other precious gifts were lavished on it. There are many references to these benefactions. In 1358 we are told that three goldsmiths were engaged to work upon it for a whole year. It would appear, however, that by 1386 the observance of the days of the saint's death and translation had become somewhat neglected, for in that year Bishop Braybroke, who took a leading part in the politics of the time and had been Chancellor in 1382-3, re-established the two festivals of St. Erkenwald, to be kept as 'first class feasts' at St. Paul's. In 1385 he had taken strong measures against the violation of the sanctity of the cathedral by buying and selling in it, and other like offences. It is hardly necessary in this place to deal with the later history of the

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shrine, concerning which Dugdale, in his *History of St. Paul's*, has much to say.

Descriptive Details in the Poem. Our poet associates the miracle which is the subject of the poem with St. Erkenwald's rebuilding of one part of the old minster, called specifically 'New Work'. He is evidently using a term well known in his time. According to Stow, 'the new work of Paul's (so called) at the east end above the choir was begun in the year 1251', and elsewhere he notes 'also the new work of Paul's, to wit, the cross aisles, were begun to be new builded in the year 1256'.¹ The poet is obviously transferring to the time of Erkenwald the structural additions belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century.

It is generally stated (*e.g.* in Henry Harben's *Dictionary of London*) that the first shops were erected in St. Paul's Churchyard about 1587, and that these were mainly inhabited by stationers; but from our poem it would appear that a couple of centuries before that date the 'Yard' was famous as the centre for the making of rich attire. The poet states, in describing the clothes of the body so long dead, that they were

'as bright of their blee, in blazing hues,
As they had yarely in that Yard been yesterday shapen.'

The allusion is remarkable from the standpoint of London archaeology, more especially as in our own day St. Paul's Churchyard is commercially associated with millinery and dress. We have here what seems to me to be an interesting glimpse of the immediate environment of the Cathedral at the end of the fourteenth century.

The mention of the bishop's palace² must have reference to

¹ Stow's *Survey of London*, 1603, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 1908, vol. i, p. 326.

² The use of 'palace' as the residence of a bishop within his cathedral city is recorded in English at the end of the thirteenth century. The

the palace existing at the time of the poet, adjoining the northern side of the nave. From a private door the bishop could pass into the nave.¹

The tomb of the pagan judge, which was found in what is evidently the crypt, was of gray marble stone, beautifully garnished with gargoyles; a canopy above it, also of marble; bright gold letters round the border of it, though in some strange language. The lid was heavy and large, but evidently with no recumbent figure on it. The tomb within was painted with gold. The poet clearly has in mind a typical Gothic tomb, and is not attempting to describe with archaeological exactness a monument belonging to centuries before the Christian era. The description of the tomb of Hector in Guido de Colonna's *Historia Trojana*, which our poet may have read, was at least a more ambitious effort. It would be hazardous to suggest that the *Geste Historiale*, the alliterative rendering of Guido's *Historia*, ante-dated our poem, but, if only for the purposes of comparative study, attention may well be directed to the passage.² Certainly, according to our poet, the grief of Troynovant at the death of the judge almost equalled that of Troy at the loss of the beloved Hector. 'When I died,' says the judge, 'for dole all Troy resounded.'

The pagan judge is described, or rather describes himself, as not only a man of law, a high judge, almost a Lord Chief Justice, but also as deputy-governor of Troynovant, chief

site of the Bishop of London's Palace at St. Paul's is preserved in London House Yard, north out of St. Paul's Churchyard, at nos. 74 and 79, to Paternoster Row. This London House Yard must be differentiated from the yard of the same name on the west side of Aldersgate Street, the site of London House, the residence of the Bishops of London for a time after the Restoration. A further interesting note on the palace of the Bishops of London will be found in H. A. Harben's *Dictionary of London*.

¹ See Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, p. 64.

² See alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, ll. 8733-825.

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magistrate of the City of London. He is, in fact, portrayed as holding what later (from the year 1193) would correspond to the office of Mayor of London, only he is the deputy of a duke, evidently the Sub-Regulus referred to in the old chronicles. The Justiciar of London under the Norman and early Plantagenet kings was a well-known dignitary. The office came to an end in the thirteenth century. The lines in which the judge describes himself are important :

‘I was deputy and doomsman under a noble duke,
And in my power this place was put altogether;
I justiced this jolly town in gentlest way.’¹

It is noteworthy that our poet uses the word ‘communnates’, which is very suggestive of association with the Commune of London. The ordinary formula in the *Liber Albus* is ‘concessio maioris et communitalis’. London became a Commune in 1191, and to about the same date belongs the creation of the office of Mayor.

Of special interest, perhaps, is the judge’s earlier reference to himself as ‘an heire of anoye in þe New Troie’. The phrase, as the text stands in the manuscript, has been variously interpreted. Dr. Horstmann suggested ‘ein gefürchteter Herr’, i.e. one held in awe, which is altogether untenable; while Dr. Neilson explained ‘oye’ as ‘grandson’, querying the meaning. From the context and the poetic style of the passage, it would seem that some specific office is referred to, the line being parallel to the statement that follows in the next quatrain, ‘Then was I judge here enjoined in Gentile law’. I make bold to interpret the words of the text as a

¹ On the subject of early London government, see *London and the Kingdom*, Reginald Sharpe, 1894; *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, and *The Commune of London*, by J. H. Round; *The Governance of London*, by Sir Laurence Gomme; also Stubbs’s *Constitutional History*, together with *Studies Supplementary to the History*, by M. Petit-Dutaillis, the latter work dealing with the subject of the Justiciar and Commune.

statement that the judge describes himself as having been a justice *en eyre*, presiding over a court of *oyer et determiner*.¹ It is of interest that from at least the twelfth century the 'iudices itinerantes' heard cases at the Stone Cross in the Strand; see Stow's *Survey*.²

If one were forced to find sense in the words without any change, they could only mean 'an heir of anger' = a child of wrath = one not an heir of everlasting life, a pagan; *cp.* Eph. ii. 3. Against this must, however, be weighed the parallelism noted to l. 216. The judge has already referred to his paganism in ll. 203-4.

Chronological Problems. The pagan judge is made to give what appears to be the exact date of the time when he lived. As the text stands, it is indeed, to quote the judge himself, 'a lappid date'. According to the reading of the manuscript, ll. 205-12, 482 years after the building of London equates with 1054 B.C. This would give 1536 B.C. as the date of the building of London. But the date indicated by Geoffrey of Monmouth for the building of London is the time when Eli the priest governed in Judea, and the Ark of the Covenant was taken by the Philistines. The accepted date for the beginning of Eli's judgeship is 1156 B.C.³ He judged forty years according to the Hebrew text, and twenty according to the Septuagint, his death being associated with the taking of the Ark. The date of the building of London is therefore either 1116 B.C. or 1136 B.C.

Further, the judge explains that he lived in the reign of King Belinus, the brother of Brennius whom Geoffrey identi-

¹ The spelling 'heyre' is a fairly common spelling of 'eyre', and is used by Britton and others; see Note on l. 211.

² Stow's *Survey of London*, 1908, vol. ii, p. 93.

³ See Bede's *Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World*, a work evidently used generally for purposes of chronology (*Complete Works of Venerable Bede*, Giles, 1843, vol. vi, p. 134).

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fied with the Brennus of early Roman history, and no reader of Geoffrey of Monmouth could possibly have dated any event of the reign of Belinus a thousand and more years B.C., as has been done by the scribe of the present text.

The manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth often give rubrics or other additions stating the actual dates of the events described, and these computations are followed by mediaeval and later chroniclers, and are found in Holinshed and other Elizabethan historians. Belinus and Brennius were the sons of Mulmutius, who died 354 years after the building of Rome (B.C. 753). This should give us 399 B.C., so that at all events the date given by our scribe, 1054 B.C., must be wrong. And we may safely assume that his 'þousande' was due to a misreading of *ijc* as the symbol much resembling it, *M i. e.* 1000. The line should therefore read :

'Pre hundred 3ere & þritty mo & 3et threnen aght,'
i. e. 354. The date is not absolutely correct, but very nearly so, and I infer that the poet or his authority has taken the actual date of the beginning of Belinus's reign, computed as from the building of Rome, *i. e.* 354 A. U. C., erroneously as the date B.C.

As regards l. 208, 'nozt bot fife hundred 3ere *per* aghtene wontyd', it is the only line throughout the whole poem where the alliteration entirely fails, and had an f-alliteration been required, the poet would have found no difficulty in indicating 482 by such a correct line as, 'nozt bot four hundred 3ere and four score & tweyne'. The 'fife' has evidently been due to a scribal effort to meet in some way or other the difficulty occasioned by the change from 300 to 1,000 in l. 210. The poet must have written either 'one' or 'aght' where we now have 'fife'. The former may be ruled out as the poet would know that many monarchs had reigned

between Brute and Belinus; the latter may therefore be accepted, and accordingly the line gives us 782.

The date 782 years from the building of London is equivalent to 354 B.C. Accordingly, our poet must have taken 1136 B.C. for the building of London, which is the date indicated by Geoffrey if the Septuagint chronology with reference to Eli is adopted.

Misunderstanding the erroneous l. 210 as it stands in the manuscript, Dr. Horstmann, and all who have written on the subject, interpret the date given by the dead judge as 1033 B.C., ignoring the fact that 'threnen aght = 3×8 , i. e. 24, which added to 1030 must make 1054. Dr. Neilson even finds confirmation for the 1033 by taking certain rubricated dates in the Hunterian MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth to corroborate the 'legendary arithmetic', as he calls it, of the poem. Finding one date A.M. 4482, and subtracting from it another date A.M. 3449, he declares the interval between, 1033 years, to be the date given by the dead judge! Even so careful a scholar as Professor Wells, in his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, accepts the error, and makes the reign of King Belin cover the year 1033 B.C.

Belinus and Brennius were the sons of the famous Dunwallo Molmutius, the first to gain the sceptre of Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that 'having made entire reduction of the island, he prepared himself a crown of gold, and restored the kingdom to its ancient state. This prince established what Britons call the Molmutine laws, which are famous among the English to this day.'¹ These laws are said to have enacted the privilege of sanctuary, and to have done much to prevent murder and cruelties, and to have promoted public security and justice.

After a reign of forty years he died and was buried in the

¹ Bk. II, ch. 17.

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city of Trinovantum, near the Temple of Concord which he himself built when he first established his laws.

Geoffrey states that Belinus revived and confirmed the Molmutine laws, especially those relating to highways, and adds that 'if any one is curious to know all that he decreed, let him read the *Molmutine Laws* which Gildas the historian translated from British into Latin, and King Alfred into English'.¹ Into the quarrels between the two brothers, Brennius and Belinus, to which our poet refers, ll. 213-15, and to their ultimate friendship by the mediation of their mother, it is not necessary to enter. A full account is given in Geoffrey's history. Brennius staying in Italy, Belinus returned to Britain, and governed in peace during the remainder of his life. To Londoners he was especially endeared by the gate of wonderful structure which he erected on the banks of the Thames, 'which the citizens call after his name Belingsgate, *i. e.* Billingsgate, to this day. Over it he built a prodigiously large tower, and under it a haven or quay for ships.' His ashes were put in a golden urn on the top of this tower.

In closing the account of Belin, Geoffrey emphasizes that he was a strict observer of justice, and re-established his father's laws everywhere throughout the kingdom.

It is noteworthy that his son Gurgunt Brabture followed his father's example in every respect. He, too, was a lover of peace and justice.

The pagan judge belonged appropriately to the reign of King Belin, this prince of justice. I cannot agree with Dr. Neilson that the dead judge is a poetic equation of Dunwallo, the father of King Belin. It is true that Dunwallo, even as the judge, died after forty years' rule; but 'forty' is a commonplace conventional term for a generation,

¹ Bk. III, ch. 5.

derived from the Biblical use of the number. Moreover, the poet is most anxious to insist on the fact that the pagan was neither king nor kaiser, but a man of law. His highest position was that of 'deputy and doomsman under a noble duke'. The crown he wore was not of kingship, but the crown of the righteous judge (ll. 253-5), and can hardly have been suggested by the golden diadem that Dunwallo made for himself as supreme king of Britain. Though placed upon the judge's head by his pagan fellow-citizens, the crown he wore was as it were an anticipatory emblem of the crown of righteousness laid up for him by the Righteous Judge, even as is said by St. Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 7-8, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness'. The judge had fought the good fight, though he had often to suffer for righteousness' sake (l. 232).

Dr. Neilson further calls attention to the statement in Geoffrey of Monmouth as regards Belinus, the successor of Dunwallo, that when he died 'his ashes were laid in a case or coffin of gold', and suggests some connexion between this cinerary golden urn on Billingsgate and the marble tomb containing the richly clad body of the judge in the crypt of St. Paul's. This suggestion well illustrates to what lengths parallelism can be drawn.

Source of the Legend. No direct source for this miracle of St. Erkenwald has so far been discovered. Extant literature concerning St. Erkenwald, other than this English poem, makes no mention of this legend. The most important collection of his miracles, *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*,¹ preserved

¹ See *Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, by M. R. James; also *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, by Sir T. D. Hardy; also Stubbs's article in *Dict. Christ. Biog.* This life of Erkenwald and the collection of Miracles were composed by the nephew of the famous 'Gilbert the Universal', Bishop of London during the early part of the twelfth century.

in a twelfth-century MS. (Parker 161) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, notwithstanding the erroneous statement of Professor J. R. Hulbert, does not include this miracle, as has been well known for some twenty years.¹

The absence of this miracle from the Cambridge manuscript makes it most improbable that any such miracle was in early times associated with Erkenwald. As an Erkenwald legend it would seem therefore to be at all events later than that compilation.

The study of the poem from the archaeological point of view has revealed, as I have attempted to show, that in the treatment of the theme the poet has allowed full play to his imagination, both as regards the historical facts connected with the history of St. Paul's, the treatment of the theme generally, and especially the association of the pagan judge with the reign of King Belin. His careful reading of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* for

¹ Dr. Hulbert in his article, 'The sources of *St. Erkenwald* and *The Trental of Gregory*', *Modern Philology*, 1919, definitely states that the Latin source is in the *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*, and quotes as his authority Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1881, p. 528. It is only fair to Dr. Horstmann to state that he does not say this. He uses the word 'wohl', i.e. the legend is in all probability to be found there.

Dr. Neilson in *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, 1902, states that the Corpus Christi College MS. 'does not at all account for the detailed and romantically specific story. Miss Mary Bateson most obligingly put herself to the trouble of examining this MS. for me.' In spite of this statement, the first sentence of which alone he quotes in a foot-note, Dr. Hulbert writes about the compiler of the Latin *Miracula* being perhaps actually the first person to attach the present legend to Erkenwald, 'and perhaps his narrative is the direct source of the English poem'. Later on he theorizes on a possible intermediary between the Latin legend and the English poem!

Miss Laura Hibbard, not knowing that the non-inclusion of the legend in the MS. had long ago been established, in her article in *Modern Philology*, April, 1920, called attention to Dr. Hulbert's error, though again she imputes to Dr. Horstmann the assertion which he did not make, that the manuscript was 'the immediate source of the poem'.

effective details, and many of his subtle touches, suggest that here the creative skill of a poet is exercising itself.

In an article which appeared in *Modern Philology*,¹ Miss Laura Hibbard called attention to what seemed to be an important piece of evidence tending to prove that there was current in London, at the time our poet was writing, some well-known story concerning the head of a judge found in the crypt of St. Paul's. She found that apparently John de Bromyard, the famous Dominican of the second half of the fourteenth century, the author of the most notable collection of *Exempla*, well known in manuscript, and often reprinted, entitled *Summa Praedicatorum*, had twice in this work referred to this incident: 'Nota de iudice cujus caput Londoniis in fundamentum [*sic*] ecclesiae Sancti Pauli inventum fuit, etc.': and deduced from the evidence before her that the story was so well known that the author found it unnecessary to say more. She concluded that Bromyard knew that a head had some time or other been found, or was alleged to have been found, in the crypt of St. Paul's, and that it was known to be that of a judge. Further, this reference, in the printed text, occurs among Bromyard's *exempla* of justice.

Unfortunately, although this allusion to the discovery of the judge's head in the crypt of St. Paul's is found in the printed editions of Bromyard, it would seem from the study of available manuscripts to be a later interpolation. It is not found in the great vellum manuscript, Brit. Mus. Roy. 7 E. iv. of the late fourteenth century, though the manuscript shows many marginal additions.² It seems to belong

¹ *Modern Philology*, 'Erkenbald the Belgian, a Study in Medieval *Exempla* of Justice', 1920.

² The MS. at Peterhouse, Cambridge, belonging to the fourteenth-fifteenth century, is also without the interpolated passage. The MS. at Oriel College, Oxford, belonging to the fifteenth century, omits the whole passage following the words 'ei iusticiam fecit' (see Appendix, p. 53).

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not to the original work, which was written after 1323, but to some late manuscript, as it is peculiar to the printed editions. Bromyard, said to have been one of the Doctors of Theology present at the congregation which condemned Wyclif in 1382, was Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1383. For his collection of exempla, arranged alphabetically according to the qualities exemplified, he sought his materials far and wide, and he adduces many references to contemporary legends. It is, indeed, remarkable that, if such a legend existed, Bromyard did not refer to it under the head of justice, where he instances Trajan, the righteous pagan emperor who miraculously received the crown of righteousness, and where he quotes in this connexion the passage from 2 Tim. iv. The manner in which the allusion to the head of the judge at St. Paul's is brought in, in the printed text, immediately after the reference to Trajan, has all the appearance of an interpolation, due to a late marginal addition. The 'etc.' at the end of the Note is noteworthy, so too the error of 'fundamentum' for 'fundamento'. Moreover, even on the evidence of the printed texts, Miss Hibbard is wrong in her statement that there are two references. There is only one; the cross-reference which she has evidently taken as the second is merely another reference to the Trajan story.¹

At the same time, it is not likely (though not impossible) that the interpolation in the printed text of Bromyard was a direct allusion to the present poem. With our poem in mind, one would hardly mention merely the head of the judge. On the whole, I am inclined to think the interpolation, due to some marginal addition in a late Bromyard manuscript, may be independent of our poem, though later in date.

On the assumption that the reference is independent, we may conjecture from the context that the head miraculously spoke,

¹ See Appendix, p. 54.

and explained that it was that of a pagan judge who, having acted righteously, was allowed to await baptism.

The allusion could hardly be to some recent discovery; and there is nothing to support Miss Hibbard's view that the statement might record some actual discovery made in Bromyard's own time, during the building and repairing that went on in the old church. 'It would not be at all surprising', she writes, 'if the workmen did actually come upon a Roman sarcophagus, and bones of the Roman dead.' But how would they know that it was a judge? Moreover, the allusion is to the head of a judge. Such an alleged discovery would much more probably be referred to some century or more before, say to the period of the 'New Work', i.e. about the middle of the thirteenth century, which period of rebuilding the poet evidently had in mind.

The Legend of Trajan and the Miracle of St. Gregory. The interpolated reference to the head found at St. Paul's follows Bromyard's detailed account of the famous miracle wrought by St. Gregory on behalf of the pagan emperor Trajan,—

'l'alta gloria
Del roman principato, il cui valore
Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria.'

The legend, to which Dante refers in the well-known passages in *Purgatorio* x. 73–75, and *Paradiso* xx. 106–17, was widely current throughout the Middle Ages, and took a variety of forms.¹

¹ The following are the chief studies on the subject, or relevant matters :

La Légende de Trajan, by Gaston Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Fasc. 35, 1878. This comprehensive study deals with (1) the legend of Trajan and the widow, (2) Trajan and St. Gregory, and (3) the origin of the legend. The article contains full bibliographical references.

Chapter XII of Arturo Graf's *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni*

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In the *Purgatorio*, Dante sees the story of Trajan and the widow portrayed among the examples of humility in Circle I of Purgatory. In the *Paradiso*, Trajan is placed between David and Hezekiah in the 'cielo di Giove', among the spirits of the just, the others being Constantine, William II of Sicily, and the Trojan Ripheus. The last named is the only real Gentile, though we are told that the three dames, Faith, Hope, and Charity, stood as baptism for him 'more than a thousand years before baptizing'.¹ The case of Trajan was different. To him was granted a second life, and hence a 'second death'. Dante dwells particularly on the presence in Paradise of Trajan and Ripheus, who with the other four are arranged in the shape of the eye and eyebrow of an eagle, the other spirits of this heaven forming the eagle itself. David is the pupil of the eye. While the eagle speaks, 'the two blessed lights' of Trajan and Ripheus 'as the beating of

del medio oco, Torino, 1882, treats the subject of Trajan, and owes much to the previous study.

Earlier considerations of the legend are referred to by both writers; perhaps the most striking are those to be found in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius (1588-1607), and in the *De Controversiis* of Bellarmine (1542-1621). These two sixteenth-century cardinals rejected the miracle as utterly fictitious.

Giacomo Boni, in his article entitled 'Leggende', *Nuova Antologia*, Rome, 1906, discusses and illustrates the Trajan legend from the standpoint of sculptural and numismatic pictorial art. See also Mrs. Arthur Strong's *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*, 1907.

Concerning St. Gregory, the student is referred to the Rev. F. Homes Dudden's *Gregory the Great*, 2 vols., London, 1905, and Sir Henry H. Howarth's *Saint Gregory the Great*, 1912.

See, also, the articles in *Modern Philology*, 1919-20, already referred to.

¹ The great philosophers, e. g. Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, men of science and poets, are in Limbo—Circle I—'a place not sad with torments, but with darkness alone', cp. *Purgatorio*, vii. 28-9.

Cato, the lover of liberty, whom Virgil describes as the lawgiver among the righteous dead in Elysium, has exceptionally a place in Purgatory.

the eyes concordeth' flash together at the two ends.¹ Ripheus is a character cursorily mentioned by Virgil in the *Aeneid*, and notably in *Aeneid* ii, 426-7:

'Cadit et Ripheus, iustissimus unus,
Qui fuit in Teucris, et servantissimus aequi.'

Nothing is known of him otherwise, and his introduction in the *Paradiso* seems entirely due to Dante's reading of Virgil. It has often been wondered at, and I am not aware that any explanation has been forthcoming. I would suggest that Dante, in dealing with the subject of Trajan, was interested in the very common form of the name as 'Trojanus', which seemed to mean 'the Trojan'. The form of the name may have been due to the well-known attempt to link the Romans and other modern peoples with ancient Troy, and to claim descent from Aeneas and his progeny. Indeed, to this fond belief may possibly be due the ennobling of Trajan and the transference to him from Hadrian of some of his good qualities, for, indeed, it would appear that the story of his generosity belonged originally to Hadrian, whence the anecdote of the widow.² Dante, knowing that Trojanus was not the

¹ See Appendix, pp. 50, 51.

² Trajan lived A. D. 53-117, and his triumphs spread his fame far and wide. The main point in connexion with the legend is his attitude towards the early Christians, as regards which one must study his correspondence, and especially the famous letter to Pliny in which he deals with the treatment of the Christians. It is, on the whole, not harsh; at the same time some Christian writers, *e. g.* Tertullian, regarded him as a monster, while others seem to have praised his sense of justice. Pliny's panegyric may have helped to maintain Trajan's fair fame, for his reputation for justice must have been traditional to have produced, whatever accretions may have been added, his identification with justice *par excellence*.

Mr. E. G. Hardy, in *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*, emphasizes 'the double aspect of Trajan's rescript, which, while it theoretically condemned the Christians, practically gave them a certain security'. Hence, as he advances, 'the different views which have since been taken of it; but by most of the Church writers, and perhaps on the whole with justice, it has

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correct form of the name, found in the pages of the *Aeneid* a true Trojan who was conspicuously just. Even so, the poet of Erkenwald, who is obviously keenly interested in the Brutus story, acclaims the righteousness of the pagan judge of the New Troy.

It is of no little interest to note that the earliest record of the Trajan legend belongs to this country; and is found in the oldest extant life of St. Gregory written in Latin by a monk of Whithy, probably about 713. This long lost life of the great apostle of the English was known to Bede and to the early biographers of Gregory, namely Paulus Diaconus and Johannes Diaconus, though later lost. Extant only in one manuscript, preserved at St. Gall, it was rediscovered by Paul Ewald in 1886, and was fully printed for the first time by Cardinal Gasquet in 1904.¹ Consequently, Gaston Paris, writing on the legend of Trajan in 1878, and Arturo Graf, dealing with the same theme in 1889, did not have before them this most valuable document, and they often refer to the lost Anglo-Saxon legend. Professor Hulbert, writing in 1919, still speaks of the life of Paulus Diaconus as the earliest form of the story. The interesting point, however, is that the Monk of Whithy, evidently doubting the orthodoxy of the miracle, refers it to the Romans, 'quidam quoque de nostris dicunt narratum a Romanis', whilst, as Cardinal Gasquet points out, and as is often

been regarded as favourable, and as rather discouraging persecution than legalizing it' (p. 63). In Rome, the glories of the Trajan Forum served to keep alive pride in his greatness and traditional magnanimity, and stimulated the desire to make him the link between Romans of the faith and their pagan progenitors.

¹ *A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great, written by a monk of the monastery of Whithy (probably about A. D. 713, now for the first time fully printed from MS. Gallen 567, by Francis Aidan Gasquet (Abbot-President of the English Benedictines), Westminster, 1904. See Appendix, p. 49.*

emphasized by earlier ecclesiastics, the Roman John, who had this text before him, says that the doubtful legend belongs to the English church, 'legitur etiam penes easdem Anglorum ecclesias'. The great problem for the Monk of Whitby was summed up in his statement: 'nemo enim sine baptismo Deum videbit unquam'.

The unwillingness readily to accept the miracle of the pagan Trajan's deliverance from hell was due to extreme doubt as to whether the great pope would have been guilty of praying for the unbelieving righteous dead, seeing that in his *Moralia*¹ he definitely states that the saints do not do this, because they shrink from the merit of their prayer, concerning those whom they already know to be condemned to eternal punishment, being made void before that countenance of the Just Judge. The legend therefore seemed to be inconsistent with Gregory's own words. Accordingly, it was looked on with suspicion, and it is noteworthy that Bede, in his *Life of St. Gregory*, does not record it, though he knew the Monk of Whitby's *Life*. All the same, the legend maintained itself; and later, Gregory was represented as having to pay a penalty for his wrong action, even though, as some versions put it, the pope's prayer may merely have alleviated Trajan's pain, and not have freed him from the prison of hell. For praying for a pagan Gregory had to choose one of two penalties, to pass two days (in some versions less) in purgatory, or during all the days of his life to languish in sickness. He chose long sickness in this world rather than the briefest stay in Purgatory.² This form of the legend is found in Godfrey

¹ *Moralia*, Lib. xxxiv, cap. 19.

² The preference of long sickness to passing two days in Purgatory is found, without reference to St. Gregory, among mediaeval exempla; v. *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane, Folk-Lore Society, 1890, p. cvi.

of Viterbo, *Speculum Regum*, c. 1152-90,¹ and in the *Fiori di Filosofi*, formerly attributed to Brunetto Latini, and in the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230 to c. 1298), which was translated into French in the fourteenth century, into English by Caxton in the fifteenth, and which was generally known throughout Europe. The suggestion of this penalty seems to have been inferred from Paul the Deacon's equivocal Latin, and is actually found added at the end of a late manuscript of Gregory's *Dialogues*.²

This legend of Trajan became almost a test case among mediaeval theologians, on the much debated question whether an infidel could, by any chance, escape from the eternal punishment of hell. St. Thomas Aquinas, in his *Summa Theologica*,³ discusses the theme at great length, and seems

¹ The versions of Godfrey of Viterbo's Latin poem on the subject seem to vary, for MS. B.M. Add. 11670 does not give the lines referring to Gregory's penalty. The legend ends with the angel's statement to Gregory after he has made his prayer for Trajan :

'Scis quia non habuit baptismatis ille sigillum.
Quomodo cum lacrimis dona neganda petis?
Ast, homo [t]u pacis, opus expetis hoc pietatis,
Iste modo requiem te lacrimante capit.'

In the margin, however, in the same or a contemporary hand of the fourteenth century, there is a long side-note, which summarizes the story in prose, and ends with the statement 'quia pro pagano orasti, omni tempore in femore claudicabis'. These words seem to be a prose paraphrase of some version from which Gaston Paris quotes the couplet :

'Angelico pulsu femur eius tempore multo
Claudicat, et poenae corpore signa tenet.'

The poem is printed from various MSS. in Pertz, *Scriptores Germanici*, xxii, pp. 21-93; the lines quoted by Gaston Paris do not, however, occur here.

² Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub. 604, vol. xi, pp. 58-66.

³ *Summa Theologica*, II. ii. 2. 7:—'Multis gentilium facta fuit revelatio de Christo... Sibylla etiam praenuntiavit quaedam de Christo... Si qui tamen salvati fuerunt quibus revelatio non fuit facta, non fuerunt salvati absque fide Mediatoris. Quia etsi non habuerunt fidem explicatam, habuerunt tamen fidem implicatam in divina providentia, credentes Deum esse liberatorem hominum secundum modos sibi placitos et secundum

to be of opinion, with others who attempted to deal with the problem from a strict theological standpoint, that Gregory's prayers might have brought Trajan to life, and given him thus the chance by merit and grace of escaping; or, otherwise, that the soul of Trajan was not freed from eternal punishment, but that the punishment was held in suspense for a time, namely, till the Day of Judgement.¹ Elsewhere he suggests that Trajan was predestined to be saved by Gregory's prayers.²

Perhaps the oldest reference to the grave being opened, and the soul coming back to the body and being entrusted to St. Gregory, is to be found in the *Kaiserchronik*, the Middle High German history of Roman and German emperors, belonging to about 1150. Nothing is said there of speech.²

St. Thomas Aquinas seems to have known some such version of the legend wherein Trajan was brought to life, notwithstanding that his cinerary urn was in a chamber below the great column that bore his name in the Forum. Ignoring this some one must have created the story of the discovery of the head and other remains of the emperor. That the tongue should be intact and able to answer the questions put to it by the pope was a natural corollary. The power of speech, indicative of life, made it possible for the resuscitated pagan to be baptized, and thus to pass to grace as a righteous Christian and not as a righteous infidel. It is of interest that St. Thomas Aquinas, in the discussion to which I have referred, quotes from St. John Damascene the legend of

quod aliquibus veritatem cognoscentibus Spiritus revelasset.' This passage is of special interest with reference to Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto xix; *cp.* Canto xx, l. 130, 'O predestinazion'.

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III, Suppl. Quaestio LXXI, Art. V.

² *Kaiserchronik*, ed. H. F. Massmann, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1849, II. 5859-6116.

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St. Macharius, who finding by chance a skull, learnt from it in answer to his question that it was the head of a pagan priest, damned in hell, and yet he and others had been helped by the prayer of Macharius. From this St. Thomas goes on to deal with the story of Trajan, which, he notes, is also mentioned by John Damascene (*fl.* first half of the eighth century) in the same work. There was, accordingly, good precedent for the speaking head of a pagan. That this form of the miracle co-existed with the simpler form found in the early lives of St. Gregory can be inferred from literature subsequent to St. Thomas Aquinas. Dante seems certainly to have in mind some such version of the miracle as is given by his earliest commentator, Jacopo della Lana, who wrote about 1326.¹ It should be noted that in the *Fiore di Filosofia*, a work formerly attributed to Brunetto Latini, Dante's teacher, St. Gregory is said to have had Trajan's grave opened in consequence of his having heard the story of the emperor's justice to the widow, and to have found that all had turned to earth except the bones and the tongue, which was 'sana e fresca' as of a living man.² By this evidence Gregory recognized the emperor's justice, wept for pity, and prayed to God that He would free him and take him from the pain of hell. An angel came, and told him that his prayer had been heard, but because he had asked this boon against reason the choice of punishment was imposed upon him. But Trajan was freed from the pains of hell, and went to Paradise through his own justice and through Gregory's prayers. Applying St. Thomas Aquinas's view of pre-

¹ See Appendix, p. 51.

² Though it is stated that the miracle of the tongue in the *Fiore* is found in the *Speculum Iugum* of Godfrey of Viterbo, the incident is not found in the poem as printed in Pertz, but in certain MSS. there is a prose addition where it is stated that the tongue appeared fresh as that of a living man.

destination to some version differing in treatment from the story in the *Fiori*, where not only were the bones discovered, but life was vouchsafed to them, Dante emphasizes that 'the glorious soul [of Trajan] returned to the flesh, where it abode short space, believed in Him who had the power to aid it, and believing, kindled into so great a flame of very love, that at the second death it was worthy to come unto this mirth', of Paradise. And the poet explains that this return of the soul into the bones was the reward of 'living hope, which had put might into the prayers made unto God to raise him up, that his will [*i. e.* Trajan's] might have power to be moved'.¹ Dante's version of the story was evidently nearer that given by Jacopo della Lana than to that in the *Fiori*.² Della Lana had before him a narrative telling how workmen had discovered bones and a skull, with the tongue fresh and

¹ See above (p. xliii) on St. Thomas Aquinas and predestination. William of Auxerre, c. 1150—c. 1230, in his *Sentences* seems to have had this view as to the predestination of Trajan. He states as follows: *Non est contra iusticiam dei aliquem revocare a statu culpe ad statum gratie in quo mereatur et postea salvetur: sed hoc est contra iusticiam dei aliquid remittere de pena cum nichil remittatur de culpa; nec erat Traianus damnatus diffinitiva penitus sententia: immo ad vitam revocandus erat precibus beati Gregorii* (Bk. IV, tract. 14).

The words 'state of grace' seem to imply baptism, and are so understood by Chacon in his *Historia seu verissima a calumniis multorum vindicata*. See Venice edition of 1583, p. 21. William of Auxerre evidently elsewhere emphasizes the point that Trajan was revived, baptized, repented of his past deeds, suddenly died, and went to heaven; for Giaccone in his work on the legend, Siena, 1595, discusses the improbability of this, and in the literature on the subject William's views are frequently quoted.

² It does not seem to me that the *Fiori* version is taken from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, c. 1190—c. 1264. Though the story of Trajan is given, there is no mention of St. Gregory or of the miracle. In the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, c. 1115—80, we have both the story of Trajan's justice and Gregory's intercession, and the warning given to him that such intercession for an infidel should not be repeated; but nothing concerning the discovery of the remains.

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intact, how the rumour reached Gregory, how he conjured the head to speak; it told its story, that it was the head of Trajan who was in hell as being a pagan. Thereupon Gregory, learning of Trajan's act of justice to the widow, prayed for him, and Trajan was saved. Dante would hardly have accepted the statement in the *Fiori* and the *Golden Legend* that Gregory was subjected to punishment for his intercession. It is noteworthy that in none of these early versions do we get any distinct mention of the baptism of the resuscitated body.

In pictorial art we have a valuable illustrative document in the famous Berne tapestry, copied from the pictures by Roger van der Weyden, the great Flemish painter, c. 1400–1464. Four pictures, which were later destroyed in the bombardment of the town by the French in 1695, were painted by him for the Hall of Justice in the Town Hall at Brussels. Soon after 1435 he held the position of town-painter. We have here a striking representation of the legend, showing in the first panel Gregory praying, and in the second, the head and tongue of Trajan being submitted to the pope, at whose side is a baptismal ewer. Beneath, an account is given of the purport of the picture, ending with the words, ‘cum beatus papa Gregorius rem tam difficilem a Deo suis precibus impetrare meruisset, corpus Trayani iam versum in pulverem reverenter detegens, linguam eius quasi hominis vivi integram adinvenit, quod propter iusticiam quam lingua sua persolvit pie creditur contigisse’. There was evidently a similar painting in the Town Hall of Cologne.¹

¹ Cp. Gaston Paris, p. 282. Commendatore Boni gives this and other illustrations. Miss Hibbard, in her article on ‘Erkenbald the Belgian’, deals excellently with these tapestries in relation to her theory, and adds some useful bibliography. Cp. also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Early Flemish Painters*, 1857.

The Cologne Chronicle¹ describes the painting, and tells how, when Trajan's bones were taken up, the tongue was found as flesh and blood, but as soon as the head had been baptized, resolved to dust. The Cologne picture may well have been copied from the Brussels paintings, if not by Van der Weyden himself. In the history of tapestry the Brussels frescoes hold an important place, having evidently been often reproduced by the 'tapissiers' of Arras. The Bernese tapestries were captured by the Swiss from Charles the Bold in 1476.

A general survey of all these forms indicates the following main stages of the legend:

(1) The earliest versions tell how St. Gregory was touched by the story of Trajan's magnanimity in rendering justice to a widow for her slain (or injured) son, though at the moment of her appearing before him he was setting out for war; and how, by the prayer of the pope, the pagan emperor was freed from hell. In this first form of the legend, the pope recalls Trajan's act of justice as he walks through the Trajan Forum. Trajan's magnanimity seems to have been illustrated by some mural sculpture, probably on the Arch of Trajan, though modern authorities are inclined to hold that the supplicating widow was a representation of some province. In some versions it is the emperor's own son who was guilty, and who was given by the emperor to the widow as a just compensation.

(2) In the second stage the opening of Trajan's tomb dis-

¹ Massmann dates the Cologne Chronicle which he uses as 1494. It is noteworthy in dealing with the whole story and describing the pictures, that the chronicler says that it was after seeing the Trajan Column and admiring it that Gregory prayed for Trajan, that he might not be lost though he was a heathen. Then, when Gregory had received Divine intimation that his prayer had been granted, the remains were dug up at Rome. The motto on the picture was '*Iustus ego barathro gentilis solvor ab atro.*'

closes the remains of a dead body, the skull, with the tongue, being intact. Either this is taken as evidence of Trajan's justice, or the tongue is made to speak. In this case it, in answer to Gregory's bidding, tells that the remains are those of Trajan, and that the emperor, being a pagan, is in hell. It then narrates the story of his act of justice towards the widow, and St. Gregory's prayers, with or without the baptism of the remains, are effective in releasing Trajan from the pains of hell, and gaining for him the reward of the righteous. In other versions, Gregory, either before the discovery or after, recalls the merit of Trajan in his justice towards the widow.

(3) In the next stage, the emperor becomes transformed into an unnamed pagan judge, who had never swerved from justice, and who on that account is allowed to await salvation through baptism; and the legend evidently becomes localized in different places. Thus we have the story recorded¹ that in Vienna, *circa* 1200, a head was found, with tongue and lips intact, and, in answer to the bishop's questioning, replied: 'Ego eram paganus et iudex in hoc loco, nec unquam lingua mea protulit iniquam sententiam, quare etiam mori non possum, donec aqua baptismi renatus, ad coelum evolem, quare propter hoc hanc gratiam apud Deum merui. Baptizato igitur

¹ Werner Rolevinck, the German theologian and annalist, author of the popular *Fasciculus Temporum* (1425-1502) gives this story in ch. 3 of his Latin work *De Antiquorum Saxonum Ritu*, first printed in 1478, and often subsequently reprinted. Rolevinck is evidently quoting from some annals or historical work or collection of exempla in which this incident is given as happening at Vienna about 1200. He certainly did not invent it, which might have been suspected, had he mentioned it in connexion with Westphalia. The whole passage is of interest, and as the book is rare, I print it in the Appendix. I have no doubt the assignment to about 1200 is due to an attempt to connect the legend with the early history of the Cathedral of St. Stephen, which was originally a twelfth-century building, though later rebuilt.

capite, statim lingua in favillam corruit, et spiritus ad Dominum evolavit.'

The Transformation of the Trajan Legend to the Miracle of St. Erkenwald. Such a version as this last may well have become localized in London and associated with St. Paul's, though it is strange that, as it seems, it was unknown to Bromyard, and yet known to the interpolator. Some such Latin record our author may have had before him when he wrote,

' & as þai m[u]kkyde & mynyde, a meruayle þai founden,
As ȝet in crafty cronecles is kydde þe memorie ' (ll. 43-4).

All the same, he certainly knew and availed himself of the widespread Gregory-Trajan story. He further developed the legend, and clad the remains with sumptuous robes, untouched by time, a treatment of his theme derived from the lives of the saints.

Indebted to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* for many a hint, he deliberately transferred to the story of the finding of the body of the pagan judge, the account he found in Bede of the translation of St. Cuthbert, when his body, some eleven years after burial, was discovered to be uncorrupted 'quasi adhuc viveret', with its vestments not only whole, but with all their original freshness and marvellous brightness. The bishop was then far away from the church, and the messengers took him some part of the garments.¹ Under the influence of this passage, the English poet has worked his transformation, but his indebtedness to other Latin ecclesiastical histories can be inferred.²

¹ Bk. IV, ch. xxx.

² Thus the words found in the Life of St. Erkenwald in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (ed. Horstmann, i, p. 396), 'et tamen nec filum pallii sepulchro superpositi naturam suam perdidit aut colorem mutavit', remind one of our poet's phrase, 'his colour & his clothe', l. 148; *cp.* l. 263. It seems to me that one can detect in the poem the evidence of a Latin original, not only in such a phrase as this, but elsewhere, *e. g.*

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The general embellishment was inspired by the love of decorative description that characterized the alliterative poets. The closing lines of the poem, describing how, when the tongue ceased its utterance, 'the blee of the body was black as the mould', and resolved itself into dust, reads like a paraphrase of some such words as those quoted above, that the tongue fell to dust, and the spirit hastened to the Lord.

If the Gregory-Trajan miracle had become localized in London and at St. Paul's, without the names of bishop or judge, as in the case of the Vienna legend, it would have been natural to associate the miracle with St. Erkenwald, more especially at a time when renewed enthusiasm was being stirred for the due observance of the feast-days held in his honour as the most renowned of London's bishops, whose rich shrine was the glory of the cathedral, and an object of veneration far and wide.

The ascription of the miracle to St. Erkenwald may well have been due to our poet. He may have derived the transferred legend of the finding of the head of a pagan judge in the foundations of St. Paul's from some lost record, not widely current, to which small credence was given even by such a collector of exempla as Bromyard, if he knew of it.

'þ' bryȝt bourne of þin eghen', l. 330; compared with the many phrases expressing outburst of tears, and especially such a phrase as the following from the *Life of St. Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, p. 50: 'rore lacrymarum . . . quas . . . Sanctus quoque Spiritus . . . ex oculorum rivulis potenter elicit.'

Of course there are reminiscences of the characteristic handling of *Exempla* and *Miracles* as found in mediaeval literature. The first line of the poem is obviously imitated from some such opening as 'A londres en angleterre' or its Latin equivalent or its imitation in English. Similarly the idea in l. 43 of the judge not being biassed against the slayer of his father may well have been suggested by the exemplum of charity (not justice, set forth in the widely diffused story of the knight who forgave the slayer of his father, found so often in the Northern Homily Collection. See Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. ii, p. 152, to which references add MS. Bodl. 3440.

In her article on 'Erkenbald the Belgian', Miss Hibbard deals with the Belgian story of 'Brussels' Brutus', Erkenbaldus de Burban, who was such a lover of justice that he killed his own nephew because of the youth's wickedness towards a maiden. He concealed this action from his confessor. The confessor, his bishop, knew what he had done, and refused to give him the last sacrament.

Nevertheless Erkenbald, pleading that what he had done was in righteousness and dread of God, and not in sin, declared that he betook both body and soul to the holy sacrament, that is, to God Himself; and by a miracle, Almighty God Himself gave him what the bishop had denied.

The name of the hero of this story, as first given in the 'Dialogus Miraculorum' of Caesarius of Heisterbach, c. 1220, is Erkenbaldus de Burban, and the name clearly links the story with the early history of the family of the Bourbons, which took its name from Bourbon l'Archambault (*i.e.* Erkenbald), a town of an important lordship in the tenth century, Erkenbald being a common name of these Bourbon princes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the manuscripts in which the miracle is related, Bourbon suffers many corruptions.

I cannot agree with Miss Hibbard when she maintains that there was a wide diffusion on the continent of the legend of St. Erkenwald, and that this fact 'may, perhaps, account for a surprising shift of names that took place even in the Belgian homeland of the Erkenbald legend', *i.e.* she holds that on the continent the name Erkenbald of the Bourbon chief had been transferred to the bishop of the story, and had still further been changed, under the influence of the stories of St. Erkenwald into Erkenwald. If this were so, the fact might well have an important bearing on the genesis of the present poem; but unfortunately the evidence adduced by Miss Hibbard tells the other way. She quotes from the *Alphabetum Narrationum*,

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a collection of tales, probably by Arnold of Liège, *c.* 1308, where following a Trajan story of justice there is a story of a judge 'named Bormar, who killed his nephew for just cause, and sent for Bishop Erkenwaldus to give him absolution. The whole story, including the final miracle of the Host, is identical in detail with that told by Caesarius, but it is said to be drawn from an account by Bishop Erkenwaldus himself.' Miss Hibbard has found this version of the story in the fifteenth-century English translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* entitled *An Alphabet of Tales*,¹ and has assumed, although a glance at the foot-note would have saved her from the blunder, that the English translation is an accurate rendering of the Latin. It is the English fifteenth-century translator who misunderstood the original 'Herkyndaldus de Bornayre, vir nobilis', and translated it 'Herkenwaldus tellis of ane pat hight Bormar, pat was a noble man'. A similar mistranslation later on makes 'Herbinbaldus' the bishop's name.² Accordingly, interesting as it may be to know of the legend of Erkenbald the Belgian, so often, by a striking coincidence, brought into connexion as illustrating justice, with the *exemplum* of Trajan, no evidence has been adduced tending to demonstrate that the miracle of Erkenbald influenced the attribution to St. Erkenwald of the version of the Trajan-story localized at St. Paul's. All the same, as Miss Hibbard has well brought out, the well-nigh identical forms of the two names, and the treatment of the Trajan and Erkenbald stories as *exempla* of justice, should not be lost sight of.³

¹ Ed. Mrs. M. M. Banks, Early English Text Society, 127, pp. 287-9.

² 'Episcopus uocatus cum sacris aduenit. Herbinbaldus, cum multis lacrimis et cordis contricione, omnia peccata sua confessus est', becomes ' & þan he sent for þe bisshop Herkenwaldus, and he come with þ^e sacrament & shrafe hym, & howseld hym not, & he made grete sorow & had grete contricion in his harte for his syn.'

³ There is no doubt that in England Erkinbald the Bourbon became

The Poem Contrasted with the Treatment of Trajan in 'Piers Plowman'. From what has been said above, our poem may well be described as a mediaeval *exemplum* of justice. The central figure is not the saintly bishop, but the pagan judge, who, never swerving from justice, was at his death honoured as 'king of keen justices', and was destined, by grace, through baptism, to receive merit for his just dooms, and by a divine miracle, to pass from 'the deep lake' to the solemn feast 'where those are refreshed who have hungered after right'.¹ It is as if our poet were anxious to enforce the lesson of justice at a time when Meed, self-interest, or bias, too often tampered with Right. At the same time, his attitude towards baptism as essential for salvation is conservative and orthodox. From many points of view it is of interest to compare the present poem with the references to Trajan in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. In the B and C versions of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, in Passus III of 'Dowel', we have Troianus, i. e. Trajan, the true knight, telling his story :

'How he was ded and dampned to dwellen in pyne,
For an vncristene creature,—“clerkis wyten the sothe,
That al the clergye vnder Cryste ne miȝte me cracche fro
helle,
But onliche loue and leaute and my lawful domes”.'
(B. xi. 137-40.)

The writer of the B version, as well as the reviser who was

Erkenwald. Thus Henry VIII had among his tapestries in the Tower, as Miss Hibbard points out, 'i pece of riche arras of king Erkinwalde'. The name, by the way, puzzled the editor of Warton's *History of English Poetry* (cp. vol. ii, p. 192, of the edition of 1871), who implies that 'king' ought to have been 'bishop'. The tapestry was no doubt a reproduction of Van der Weyden's picture at Brussels, which immediately followed that of Trajan.

¹ Cp. *Patience* 19-20 :

'pay ar happen also þat hungeres after ryȝt,
For þay schal frely be refete ful of alle gode.'

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responsible for the C version, whether the same or a different author, evidently knew the Trajan¹ story as current in England in its simple form of Gregory's successful intercession by prayer² for the pagan emperor. The B version refers directly to 'the *Legende Sanctorum*' as a source. The author was evidently familiar with the theological discussions on the subject, which he dismisses with an exclamation placed on the lips of Trajan, 'zee! baw for bokes', and with characteristic boldness declares that Trajan, that Saracen, was saved, not through prayer of a Pope, but through his pure truth (B. xi. 150; *cp.* C. xiii. 74-99). The reviser of C evidently shrinks from so audacious a statement. A comparison of the two versions is full of interest; the subtle changes in C are noteworthy.³

In B. xii, and the corresponding passage in C. xv, the subject is again discussed, where Imaginative instructs the dreamer on the problem of whether baptism could be dispensed with for salvation, and points out that,

'Trajan was a true knight, and took never Christendom,
And he is saved, saith the book, and his soul in heaven.
There is baptism of font, and baptism in blood-shedding,
And through fire is baptism, and all is firm belief.

*Advenit ignis divinus, non comburens sed illuminans.'*⁴

¹ It is noteworthy that the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, as so many Middle English writings, gives the form as 'Trojanus', though the author of C has both 'Troianus' and 'Traianus'.

² The legend in Middle English is frequently found in MSS. of the *Northern Homilies* (see Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. ii, p. 42). It is often referred to by Gower, and in Wintoun's *Chronicle* is given at great length (vol. iii, pp. 286-96, ed. Amours, Scottish Text Society). For versions of the story in MSS. of mediaeval exempla, see *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS., British Museum*, vol. iii, J. A. Herbert.

³ See Appendix, p. 56.

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, C. xv. 205-8; *cp.* Matt. iii. 11.

In B. x. 383, and the corresponding passage in C. xii, the belief that

Probable Date, Occasion, and Authorship. But while the poet's efforts have been directed mainly to the pagan judge as an exemplar of justice, it is in honour of St. Erkenwald that the poem must have been composed. The poet's obvious intention is clearly to associate himself with the cult of St. Erkenwald at St. Paul's Cathedral. The outstanding date in connexion with the observance of the feast-days of the saint is the year 1386, to which allusion has already been made.

There is no evidence of date to be derived from the poem itself. Its tone tends to confirm the view that it was composed for some special occasion. Such external evidence as one can suggest would make such a date as 1386 most probable.

The poem in its plan, its vocabulary,¹ its general style and method, and its quatrain arrangement, recalls *Cleanness* and *Patience*. The enumeration of the christianized heathen temples seems a reminiscence of the gods prayed to by the heathen sailors in *Patience*,² the ceremonial with which the soul of the judge is received at the heavenly feast is the same as that observed at the marriage feast in *Cleanness*.³

Solomon and Aristotle were both in hell is contested, and it is noteworthy that in the passage concerning Trajan one MS. interpolates some lines concerning Job, the paynim, and Aristotle being both saved, because of their holy life.

¹ *E.g.* its use of such a word as 'norne', which occurs three times in *Cleanness* and four times in *Gawain*, and is not found elsewhere. The suggestion that the author is to be identified with the writer of the alliterative fragment on Thomas à Becket (E.E.T.S. 42) has absolutely nothing to commend it.

² *Cf.* l. 20 with *Patience* 167, To Mahoun & to Mergot, þe Mone & þe Sunne.

³ *Cf.* ll. 337-8 with *Cleanness* 91-2 :

Ful manerly wyth marchal mad for to sitte,
As he watȝ dere of de-gre dressed his seete.

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Occasionally we are reminded, too, of some possible knowledge of *Pearl* on the part of the author, and this not only by the mention of 'many a precious pearl' around the hem of the judge's robe, which might well have symbolic connotations, but also by more subtle points of contact. The central theme of *Pearl* is the regality—the heavenly crown—granted by grace, after baptism, to an innocent child. It is further enunciated in *Pearl* that, according to Holy Writ, the righteous man shall 'climb the lofty hill and rest within the holy place'. In the present poem the problem of the salvation of the righteous seems to take up the question as left in *Pearl*. Our poet, treating the story of the pagan righteous judge who was allowed to await baptism, evidently emphasizes his view that the righteous in works are received into the Kingdom, and have their due place at the feast, after the waters of baptism have fallen upon them.

In my introductory study to *Cleanness*, I have endeavoured to show that the *terminus a quo* for the date of that poem must be 1373, and I think we may safely assume that the present poem is not earlier than the companion poems, *Cleanness* and *Patience*. Its diction is simpler than that of those poems, it lacks their strength and intensity; but this sign of weakness might be due to its being composed for some special occasion, and not a theme chosen by the poet and slowly elaborated. If not the work of the poet of *Patience* and *Cleanness*, *Erkenwald* must be due to some disciple who very cleverly caught the style of his master.

Even in his method of authenticating, as it were, his work by adducing some extant authority—'as yet in crafty chronicles is recorded the memory'¹—even in that he reminds one of the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, who

¹ l. 44.

asserts that he is about to tell his romance as he had heard it:

‘As it is set full real
In story stiff and strong,
Locked in letters leal,
In land so has been long.’¹

‘**Erkenwald**’ specifically a London Poem. There is one aspect of this alliterative poem of *Erkenwald* that gives it almost a special interest, namely, that its place of origin must have been the city of London. The writer of the poem was no mere casual visitor to London, but one who, identified with the interests of the city, was cognizant of its life, and took pride in its history and the visible monuments of its greatness. In dealing with his far-off theme of the Saxon saint and the pagan judge who ‘justified’ the town in the days of King Belinus, the poet is thinking of the St. Paul’s of his own day, not only with reference to the glorious shrine of the saint, and to the efforts to establish the due observance of his feast-days, but also to the position of the Cathedral as the centre of civic and almost of national life, the scene of so many stirring episodes, the cathedral church of the metropolis, famed for the grandeur and beauty of its service, to which he alludes when stating that ‘many gay lords were assembled there when, in full pontificals, with choir accompaniment, the bishop sang the High Mass’. He then adds most significantly as a parenthesis, ‘even as the nobles of the realm repair thither oft’.²

Yet the alliterative metre of the poem, and the dialect in which it is written, could not well have been chosen by a poet London-born and London-bred. A Londoner could not, or

¹ *Gawain*, ll. 83–6.

² ll. 129–35. In Canon Benham’s *Old St. Paul’s*, 1902, there are interesting reproductions from MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the British Museum, of a Pontifical Mass, and of organ and trumpets.

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would not, 'rim-ram-ruff'. It may be assumed that the author of *Erkenwald* belonged by birth to some district in the 'West', although fortune ultimately made him a denizen of London. It is indeed noteworthy that London seems to have had a stimulating effect on some of the most characteristic of the alliterative poets of the period. In perhaps the earliest of these poems, the social political alliterative pamphlet of *Winner and Waster*, belonging to the year 1352, the author of which is avowedly a 'Western man', we have a personal knowledge of London life, its social amenities, extravagances, attractions, and dangers. The author or authors of the *Vision of Piers Plowman* knew London intimately; not only are there references to St. Paul's and Westminster, but the meaner side of London life is revealed in the confession of Gluttony, Clarice of Cock Lane, Godfrey of Garlickhithe, and the other characters typical of the London low life of the time. We learn by combining the two references C. vi. 1-2 and B. xviii. 426 (C. xxi. 473), how the author (alliteratively) dwelt in Cornhill with Kit, his wife, and Calote, his daughter, clothed as a Lollard, among the Lollards of London, and lived 'in London and on London both'.¹ The more genial poet of *Erkenwald* must similarly have been settled in London for not a few years. His outlook had nothing of the gloomy denunciatory character of the prophet-poet of the *Vision*. If he lived on London as well as in London, it was in some comfortable position that made life easy, and one thinks of the possibilities of the Church and the Law. Had he found a chantry at St. Paul's, or even some higher position there, a greater place would, in my opinion, have been given in *Erkenwald* to the bishop whose saintliness was commemorated therein. The poet, however, seems more bent on glorifying the judge as the embodiment of justice, and in paying a tribute to the ideal man of law. It

¹ C. vi. 44.

is dangerous to theorize where there is no clear evidence, but if one had to choose between the two great professions of the time, one would perforce make choice of the legal calling as that of the author of our poem. One fondly plays with the fancy that Chaucer's 'philosophical Strode' may have been concerned. If my identification is correct, Strode, philosopher and poet, was Common Sergeant of the City of London. In 1386, shortly after the Common Sergeant had resigned or been ousted from his office, and while he was still retained as standing counsel for the city, he may have helped forward the efforts of Bishop Braybroke, who in that year made a strong endeavour to re-establish the feast-days of St. Erkenwald. The poem seems to me to be the work of a hand that was losing its cunning. It is such as the author of *Cleanness* and *Patience* might well have written when his powers were faltering. Ralph Strode, the Common Sergeant, died in 1387. He had held that office between 1375 and 1385. He had been Chaucer's neighbour for a time, living over the gate of Aldersgate, while Chaucer dwelt over Aldgate. The dedication of *Troilus* about 1382 to the 'moral Gower and the philosophical Strode' is evidently to two poets. We have Strode's logical and philosophical treatises to attest the truth of the epithet 'philosophical', but the author of these extant treatises would hardly have evoked from Chaucer such a dedication as is implied in the lines at the end of *Troilus*. Even as Chaucer himself was styled 'the philosophical', so we may assume that the epithet bestowed by him on Strode, with the request to correct any error that might be found in the poem, implied poetical achievement on the part of Strode, as was clearly the case in his dedicatory reference on the same occasion to his other great contemporary and friend, the 'moral Gower'.

The contemporary Letter Books of the City of London¹

Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London, Letter Book H, temp. Richard II,

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show how the fortunes of Ralph Strode, Common Sergeant, were closely bound up with the municipal struggles of Nicholas Brembre, his friend, and John of Northampton, the rival Mayors, whose tragic stories well exemplify the close connexion of the City of London at that time with the great political issues of the State. The vicissitudes of Northampton are in English literature associated with the ignominious Thomas Usk, author of the pseudo-Chaucerian prose work entitled *The Testament of Love*,¹ wherein the author is taught by Love how to win the favour of the Margaret Pearl—the pearl beyond all price. Traitor to his master, Northampton, he had joined the party of Brembre, who had become Mayor in 1383, having previously been Collector of Customs when Chaucer was Controller of Customs. But Brembre, as the devoted friend of King Richard, became involved in the political struggles affecting the monarch, and in 1388 both Brembre and Usk paid the penalty of death. Strode had died the previous year. But the stirring events that culminated with the cruel execution of his friend Brembre had been moving men's minds for years before, and it must have seemed to many that the course of justice was too often affected by political bias and personal aims. Amid such conditions arose this poem of the ideal pagan judge, who in far-off times, when London was New Troy, ruled the city 'under a noble duke'. To the minds of the poet and his contemporaries, however, New Troy and its noble duke were not really so remote as might appear, for it is significant that after the execution of Brembre, when his sentence had to be justified, it was alleged against him, among other charges, that he aimed at restoring

ed. R. Sharpe, 1907; see also *London and the Kingdom*, R. Sharpe, vol. i, 1894.

¹ Ed. Skeat, *Works of Chaucer*, vol. vii. On Brembre, Usk, and Northampton, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and bibliographies appended.

to London the old name of Troy_A and at creating himself Duke of that name—‘nomen novum scilicet Parvae Troiae, cuius urbis et nominis ipse Dux creari statuit et nominari’.¹

¹ *Historia Anglicana*, T. Walsingham, ed. H. T. Riley, 1864, vol. ii, p. 174.

SAINT ERKENWALD

DE ERKENWALDO

[PROLOGUE.]

[F. 72 b]

A t London in Englonde noȝt fulle longe [tyme]
Sythen Crist suffride on crosse, & Cristen-
dome stablyde,
Ther was a byschop in þat burghe, blessyd
& sacryd,—

Saynt Erkenwolde, as I hope, þat holy mon hatte.

- 5 In his tyme in þat ton þ^e temple alder-grattyst
Was drawn don þat one dole to dedifie new,
For hit hethen had bene in Hengyst dawes,
þat þ^e Saxones vnsaȝt haden sende hyder.
- 9 þai bete oute þ^e Bretons, & broȝt hom in-to Wales,
& peruertyd alle þ^e pepul þat in þat place dwellide;
þen was this reame renaide mony ronke ȝeres,
Til Saynt Austyn in-to Sandewiche was sende fro þ^e pope.
- 13 þen prechyd he here þ^e pure faythe & plantyd þ^e trouthe,
& conuertyd alle þ^e communnates to Cristendameȝ newe;
He turnyd temples þat tyme þat temyd to þ^e deuelle,
& clansyd hom in Cristes nome, & kyrkes hom callid.
- 17 He hurlyd owt hor ydols & hade hym in sayntes,
& chaungit cheuely hor nomes, & chargit hom better:
þat ere was of Appolyn is now of Saynt Petre;
Mahon to Saynt Margrete, oȝer to Maudelayne.

- 21 þ^e Synagoge of þ^e Sonne was sett to oure Lady;
 Jubiter & Jono to Jhesu oþer to James;
 So he hom dedifiet & dyght alle to dere halowes,
 þat ere was sett of Sathanas in Saxones tyme.
- 25 Now þat London is neuenyd hatte þ^e New Troie;
 þ^e metropol & þ^e mayster-ton hit euermore has bene;
 þ^e mecul mynster þerinne a maghty deucl aght,
 & þ^e title of þ^e temple bitan was his name;
- 29 For he was dryghtyn derrest of ydols praysid,
 And þ^e solempnest of his sacrifices in Saxon londes:
 þe thrid temple hit was tolde of Triapolitanes;
 By alle Bretaynes bonkes were bot othire twayne.

[L.]

- 33 **N**ow of þis Augustynes art is Erkenwolde bischop
 At loue London ton, & the laghe teches;
 Syttes semely in þ^e sege of Saynt Paule mynster,
 þat was þ^e temple Triapolitan, as I tolde are.
- 37 Þen was hit abatyd & beten don, & buggyd efte new,
 A noble note for þ^e nones, & New Werke hit hatte;
 Mony a mery mason was made þer to wyrke,
 Harde stones for to hewe with eggit toles;
- 41 Mony grubber in grete þ^e grounde for to seche,
 þat þ^e fundement on fyrst shuld þ^e fote halde;
 & as þai m[u]kkyde & mynyde, a mervayle þai founden,
 As 3et in crafty cronecles is kydde þ^e memorie.

- 45 For as *pai dyzt & dalfe so depe in-to þ^e erthe,*
pai founden fourmyt on a flore a ferly faire tounge;
Hit was a throghe of thykke ston, thryuandly hewen,
With gargeles garnysht a-boute, alle of gray marbre.
- 49 Theþ *spe[k]e* of þ^e spelunke *þat spradde hit o-lofte*
Was metely made of þ^e marbre & menskefully planede,
& þ^e bordure enbelicit with bryzt golde lettres;
Bot roynyshe were þ^e resones þat þer on row stoden.
- [F. 73] 53 *Fuller verray were þ^e vigures, þer auisye hom mony,*
Bot alle muset hit to mouthe & quat hit mene shulde;
Mony clerke in þat clos, with crownes ful brode,
þer besiet hom a-boute nozt, to brynge hom in wordes.
- 57 *Quen tithynges token to þ^e ton of þ^e tounge-wonder,*
Mony hundrid hende men highide þider sone;
Burgeys boghit þer-to, bedels ande othire,
& mony a mesters-mon of maners dyuerse.
- 61 *Laddes laften hor werke & lepen þiderwardes,*
Ronnen radly in route with ryngande noyce;
þer comen þider of alle kynnes so kenely mony,
þat as alle þ^e worlde were þider wala with-in a honde-
quile.
- 65 *Quen þ^e maire with his meynye þat meruaile aspied,*
By assent of þ^e sextene, þ^e sayntuare þai kepten;
Bede vnloke þ^e lidde, & lay hit by-side;
þai wolde loke on þat lome quat lengyd withinne.
- 69 *Wyzt werke-men with þat wenten þer-tille;*
Putten prises þerto, pinchid one-vnder;
Kaghten by þ^e corners with crowes of yrne;
And were þ^e lydde neuer so large, þai laide hit by sone.

- 73 Bot þen was wonder to wale on wehes þat stoden,
That myzt not come to to-knowe a quontyse strange;
So was þ^e glode *with-in* gay, al *with* golde payntyde,
& a blisfulle body opon þ^e both[um] lyggid,—
- 77 Araide on a riche wise, in rialle wedes,
Al *with* glisnande golde his gowne was hemmyd,
With mony a precious perle picchit þer-on,
& a gurdille of golde bigripide his mydelle;
- 81 A meche mantel on-lofte *with* menyuer furrit,
þ^e clothe of camelyn ful clene, *with* cumly bordures;
& on his coyfe was kest a coron ful riche,
& a semely septure sett in his honde.
- 85 Als wemles were his wedes, *with-oute* any tecche,
Oper of moulynge, oper of motes, oper moght-freten,
& als bryzt of hor blee, in blysnande hewes,
As þai hade ȝepely in þat ȝorde bene ȝisturday shapen;
- 89 & als freshe hym þ^e face & the fleshe nakyde,
Bi his eres & bi his hondes þat openly shewid,
With ronke rode as þ^e rose, & two rede lippes,
As he in sounde sodanly were slippide opon slepe.
- 93 þer was spedeles space to spyр vschon oper
Quat body hit myzt be þat buried was ther;
How longe had he þer layne, his lere so vnchaungit,
& al his wede vnwemmyd,—þus ylka weghe askyd:
- 97 ‘Hit myzt not be bot suche a mon in my[n]de stode longe;
He has ben kyng of þis kithе, as couthely hit semes,
He lyes doluen þus depe; hit is a derfe wonder
Bot summe segge couthe say þat he hym sene hade.’

101 Bot þat ilke note was noght, for *nourne* none couthe,
Noþer by title, ne token, ne by tale *noþer*,
 þat† was breuyt in b[rut], ne in bok[e] notyde,
 þat euer mynyd suche a mo[n], more ne lasse.

105 þ^e bode-ворde to þ^e byschop was broght on a quile,
 Of þat buriede body al þ^e bolde wonder;
 þ^e primate with his prelacie was partyd fro home;
 In Esex was *Ser* Erkenwolde, an abbay to visite.

109 Tulkes tolden hym þ^e tale [& þ^e] troubulle in þ^e pepul,
 And suche a cry aboute a cors crakit euer-more;
 The bischop sende hit to blynne, by bedels & lettres,
 Ande buskyd þiderwarde by-tyme on his blonke after.

3 b]

113 By þat he come to þe kyrke, kydde of Saynt Paule,
 Mony hym metten on þat meere, þ^e meruayle to telle;
 He passyd in-to his palais & pes he comaundit,
 & deuoydit fro þ^e d[outh]e, & ditte þ^e durre after.

117 þ^e derke nyzt ouer-drofe, & day-belle ronge;
 And *Ser* Erkenwolde was vp in þ^e vghen ere þen,
 þat wel neghe al þ^e nyzt hade na[i]tyd his houres,
 To biseche his souerayn, of his swete grace,

121 To vouche-safe to reuele hym hit, by a-vis[i]on or elles;

‘paghe I be vnworthi’, al wepande he sayde,
 ‘Thurghe [þⁱ] deere debonerte, digne hit, my Lorde,
 In confirmynge þⁱ cristen faithe, fulsen me to kenne

125 þ^e mysterie of þis meruaile þat men opo[n] wondres.’

& so longe he grette after grace, þat he graunte hade,
 An ansuare of þ^e Holy Goste, & after-warde hit dawid.
 Mynster-dores were makyd opo[n], quen matens were
 songen;

129 þ^e byschop hym shope solemply to synge þ^e heghe masse.

þe prelate in pontificals was prestly atyride ;
 Manerly with his ministres þ^e masse he begynnes
 Of *Spiritus Domini* for his spede, on sutile wise,
 133 With queme questis of þ^e quere, with ful quaynt notes.

Mony a gay grete lorde was gedrid to herken hit
 (As þ^e rekenest of þ^e reame repairen þider ofte),
 Tille cessyd was þ^e seruice, & sayde þ^e later ende,
 137 þen heldyt fro þe autere alle þ^e heghe gynge.

þ^e prelate passide on þ^e playn, þer plied to hym lordes ;
 As riche reuestid as he was, he rayked to þ^e toumbe ;
 Men vnclosid hym þ^e cloyster with cluðtrede keies ;
 141 Bot pyne was with þ^e grete prece þat passyd hym after.

The byschop come to þ^e burynes, him barones besyde ;
 þ^e maire with mony maȝti men, & macers before hym ;
 þ^e dene of þ^e dere place deuysit al on fyrst,
 145 þ^e fyndynge of þat ferly with fynger he mynte.

Lo, lordes,' quop þat lede, 'suche a lyche here is,
 Has layn loken here on-loghe, how longe is vnknawen ;
 & ȝet his colour & his clothe has caȝt no defaute,
 149 Ne his lire, ne þ^e lome þat he is layde inne.

þer is no lede opon lyfe of so longe age
 þat may mene in his mynde þat suche a mon regnyd,
 Ne noþer his nome ne his note nourne of one speche ;
 153 Queþer mony porer in þis place is putte into graue,
 þat merkid is in oure martilage his mynde for euer.

& we haue oure librarie la[i]tid þes longe seuen dayes,
 Bot one cronicle of þis kynge con we neuer fynde ;
 157 He has non layne here so longe, to loke hit by kynde,
 To malte so out of memorie, bot meruayle hit were.'

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'pou says soþe,' quop þ^e segge þat sacrid was byschop,
 'Hit is meruaile to men, þat mountes to litelle
 161 Towarde þ^e prouidens of þ^e Prince þat Paradis weldes,
 Quen hym luste to vnlouke þ^e leste of his myȝtes.

Bot quen matyd is moȝnes myȝt, & his mynde passyde,
 And al his resons are to-rent, & redeles he stondes,
 165 þen lettes hit hym ful litelle to louse wyt a fynger
 þat alle þ^e hondes vnder heuen halde myȝt neu^er.

[F. 74] þere-as creatures crafte of counselle oute swarues,
 þe comforthē of þe creatore byhoues þe c[reat]ure take.

169 & so do we now oure dede, deuyne we no fyrre;
 To seche þe sothe at oure-selfe, ȝee se þer no bote;
 Bot gl[e]w we alle opon Godde, & his grace aske,
 þat careles is of counselle, [vs] comforthē to sende.

173 [Anande] þat in fastyngē of ȝour faithe & of fyne bileue,
 I shal auay ȝow so verrayly of vertues his,
 þat ȝe may leue vpon longe þat he is lord myȝty,
 & fayne ȝour talent to fulfille, if ȝe hym frende leues.'

- 177 **T**hen he *turnes* to þ^e *toumbe* & *talkes* to þ^e *corce* ;
 Lyftande vp his *eghe-lyddes*, he *loused* *suche* *wordes* :
 ‘Now, *lykham*e, þat þ[us] *lies*, *layne* þou no *lenger*,
 Sythen *Jhesus* has *iuggit* to-day his *ioy* to be *schewyde* !
- 181 Be þou *bone* to his *bode*, I *bydde* *in* his *behalue* ;
 As he was *bende* on a *beme*, *quen* he his *blode* *schedde*,
 As þou hit *wost* *wyterly*, & we hit *wel* *leuen*,
Ansuare here to my *sawe*, *councele* no *trouthe* !
- 185 Sithen we *wot* not *qwo* þou *art*, *witere* vs þⁱ-*selwen*,
 In *worlde* *quat* *weghe* þou *was*, & *quy* þow þus *ligges*,
 How *longe* þou has *layne* here, & *quat* *laghe* þou *vsyte*,
Queþer *art* þou *ioyned* to *ioy* *oper* *iuggid* to *pyne*.’
- 189 *Quen* þ^e *segge* *hade* þus *sayde*, & *syked* þer-*after*,
 þ^e *bryzt* *body* *in* þ^e *burynes* *bray*[þ]ed a *litelle*,
 & *with* a *drery* *dreme* he *dryues* *owte* *wordes*
purghe s[um] *lyf*[ly] *goste*, *lant*† of *hym* þat *al* *redes* :—
- 193 ‘*Bisshop*,’ *quop* þis *ilke* *body*, ‘þⁱ *boode* is *me* *dere*,
 I *may* not *bot* *boghe* to þⁱ *bone* for *bothe* *myn* *eghen* ;
 †þ^e *name* þat þou *neuenyd* has & *nournet* *me* *after* . . .
Al *heuen* & *helle* *heldes* to, & *erthe* *bitwene*.
- 197 *Fyrst* to *say* the þ^e *sothe* *quo* my *selfe* *were*,—
 One þ^e *vnhapnest* *hathel* þat *euer* on *erthe* *zode*,
Neuer *kynge* ne *cayser* ne *zet* no *knyzt* *nothyre*,
Bot a *lede* of þ^e *laghe* þat þen þis *londe* *vsit*.
- 201 I was *committid* & *made* a *mayster-mon* here,
 To *sytte* vpon *sayd* *causes* þ^{is} *cite* I *þemyd*,
 Vnder a *prince* of *parage* of *paynymes* *laghe*,
 & *vehe* *segge* þat *him* *sewide* þ^e *same* *faythe* *trowid*.

- 205 þ^e lengthe of my lyinge here, þat is a l[app]id date
 Hit to m[ut]he to any mon to make of a nombre:
 After þat Brutus þis burghe had buggid on fyrste
 Noȝt bot [aght] hundred ȝere þer aghtene wontyd—
- 209 Before þat kynned ȝour Criste by cristen acounte
 [pre hundred] ȝere & þritty mo & ȝet threnen aght,
 I was [o]n eire† of an oye[r] in þ^e New Troie
 In þ^e regne of þ^e riche kyngþe þat rewlit vs þen,
- 213 The bolde Breton Ser Belyn,—Ser Berynge was his
 brothire—
 Mony one was þ^e busmare boden hom bitwene
 For hor wrakeful werre, quil hor wrathe lastyd,—
 þen was I iuge here enioynyd in gentil lawe.’
- 217 Quil he in spelunke þus spake þer sprange in þ^e pepulle
 In al þis worlde no worde, ne wakenyd no noice,
 Bot al as stille as þ^e ston stoden & listonde,
 With meche wonder forwrast, & wepid ful mony.
- 221 The bisshop biddes þat body, ‘biknowe þ^e cause,
 Sithen þou was kidde for no kyngþe, quy þou þ^e cron weres.
 Quy haldes þou so heghe in honde þe septrē,
 & hades no londe of lege men, ne life ne lym aghtes?’
- [F. 74b] 225 ‘Dere ser,’ quop þ^e dede body, ‘deuyse þ^e I thenke,
 Al was hit neuer my wille þat wroght þus hit were;
 I wos deputate & domesmon vnder a duke noble,
 & in my power þis place was putte al to-geder.
- 229 I iustifiet þis ioly touz on gentil wise,
 & euer in fourme of gode faithe, more þen fourty wynter.
 þ^e folke was felonse & fals, & frowarde to reule;
 I hent harmes ful ofte, to holde hom to riȝt.

- 233 Bot for wothe ne wele ne wrathe ne drede,
Ne for maystrie ne for mede ne for no monnes aghe,
I remewit neuer fro þ^e riȝt, by reson myn awen,
For to dresse a wrange dome, no day of my lyue.
- 237 Declynet neuer my consciens, for couetise on erthe,
In no gynful iugement no iapes to make,
Were a renke neuer so riche, for reuerens sake,
Ne for no monnes manas, ne meschefe ne routhe.
- 241 Non gete me fro þ^e heghe gate to glent out of ryȝt,
Als ferforthe as my faithe confourmyd my hert;
paghe had bene my fader bone, I bede hym no wranges,
Ne fals fauour to my fader, paghe felle hym be hongyt.
- 245 & for I was ryȝtwis & reken, & redy of þ^e laghe,
Quen I degheð, for ðul denyed alle Troye;
Alle menyð my dethe, þ^e more & the lasse;
& þus to bounty my body þai buriet in golde,—
- 249 Cladden me for þ^e curtest þat courte couthe þen holde,
In mantel for þ^e mekest & monlokest on benche;
Gurden me forþ gouern[ance þ^e] graythist of Troie,
Furrid me for þ^e fynest of faithe [þer] witkinne.
- 253 For þ^e honour of myn honeste of heghest enprise,
þai coronyd me þ^e kidde kyng of kene iustises,
þ[at] euer was tronyd in Troye oþer trowid euer shulde;
And for I rewardid euer riȝt, þai raght me the septe.’
- 257 þ^e bisshop baythes hym ȝet, with bale at his hert,
paghe men menskid him so, how hit myȝt worthe
þat his clothes were so clene; ‘in cloutes, me thynkes,
Hom burde haue rotid & bene rent in rattes longe sythen.

- 261 þi body may be enbawmyd, hit bashis me noght
 þat hit thar ryne ne rote ne no ronke wormes;
 Bot þi coloure ne þi clothe, I know in no wise
 How hit myȝt lye by monnes lore & last so longe.'
- 265 'Nay, bisshop,' quoth þat body, 'enbawmyd was I neuer,
 Ne no monnes counselle my clothe has kepyd vnwemmyd;
 Bot þe riche kyng of reson, þat riȝt euer allowes,
 & loues al þe lawes lely þat longen to trouthe;
- 269 & moste he menskes men for mynnyng of riȝtes,
 þen for al þe meritorie medes þat men on molde vsen;
 & if renkes for riȝt þus me arayed has,
 He has lant me to last þat loues ryȝt best.'
- 273 'Ȝea, bot sayþ þou of þi saule,' þen sayd þe bisshop.
 'Quere is ho stablid & stadde, if þou so streȝt wroghtes?
 He þat rewardes vche a renke as he has riȝt seruyd
 Myȝt euel for-go the to gyfe of his grace summe brawnche.
- 277 For as he says in his sothe psalmyde writtes:
 "þe skilfulle & þe vnskathely skelton ay to me."
 For-þi say me of þi soule, in sele quere ho wonnes,
 And of þe riche restorment þat razȝt hyr oure Lorde!'
- 281 þen hummyd he þat þer lay, & his hedde waggyd,
 & gefe a gronyng ful grete, & to Godde sayde:—
 'Mazȝy maker of men, thi myghtes are grete,
 How myȝt þi mercy to me amounte any tyme?
- [F. 75] 285 Nas I a paynym vnpreste, þat neuer thi plite knewe,
 Ne þ[^e] mesure of þi mercy, ne þi mecul vertue,
 Bot ay a freke faitheles þat faylid þi laghes,
 þat euer þou, Lord, was louyd in? Allas, þe harde stoundes!

- 289 I was non of þ^e nombre þat þou with noy boghtes
 With þ^e blode of thi body vpon þ^e blo rode;
 Quen þou herghedes helle-hole, & hentes hom þer-oute,
 þ[^e] loffyng, oute of Limbo, þou laftes [m]e þer.
- 293 & þer sittes my soule þat se may n[o] fyrre,
 Dwynande in þe derke dethe, þat dyzt vs oure fader,
 Adam, oure alder, þat ete of þat appulle
 þat mony a plyztles pepul has poysned for euer.
- 297 3e were entouchid with his te[c]he & t[o]ke in þ^e gl[e]tte,
 Bot mendyd with a medecyn, 3e are made for to lyuye,—
 þat is fulloght in fonte, with faitheful bileue;
 & þat han we myste alle merciles, myselfe & my soule.
- 301 Quat wan we with oure wele-dede þat wroghtyn ay rízt,
 Quen we are dampnyd dulfully into þe depe lake,
 & exiled fro þat soper so, þat solempne fest,
 þer richely hit arne refetyd þat after right hungride?
- 305 My soule may sitte þer in sorow, & sike ful colde,
 Dy[m]ly in þat derke dethe, þer dawes neuer morowen,
 Hungrie in-with helle-hole, & herken after meeles,
 Longe er ho þat soper se, oþer segge hyr to lathe.'
- 309 þus dulfully þis dede body deuisyt hit sorowe,
 þat alle wepyd for woo, þ^e wordes þat herden;
 & þ^e bysshop balefully bere don his eghen,
 þat hade no space to speke, so spakly he 3oskyd, 7
- 313 Til he toke hym a tome, & to þ^e toumbe lokyd,
 To þ^e liche þer hit lay, with lauande teres:
 'Oure Lord lene,' quop þat lede, 'þat þou lyfe hades,
 By Goddes leue, as longe as I myzt lacche water,

- 317 & cast vpon þⁱ faire cors, & carpe þes wordes,—
 “I folwe þ^e in þ^e Fader nome & his fre Childes
 & of þ^e gracious Holy Goste”;—& not one grue lenger.
 þen þof þou droppyd doun dede, hit daungerde me lasse.’
- 321 With þat worde þat he warpyd, [of his] weteþ eghen
 [þ^e] teres trillyd adon, & on þ^e toumbe lighten;
 & one felle on his face, & þ^e freke syked;
 þen sayd he with a sadde soun, ‘Oure Sanyoure be louyd!
- 325 Now herid be þou, heghe God, & þⁱ hende Moder,
 & blissid be þat blisful houre þat ho the bere in!
 & also be þou, bysshop, þ^e bote of my sorowe,
 & þ^e relefe of þ^e lodely lures þat my soule has leuyd in!
- 329 For þ^e wordes þat þou werpe, & þ^e water þat þou sheddesh,
 þ^e bryzt bourne of þin eghen, my bapteme is worthyn;
 þ^e fyrst slent þat on me slode slekkyd al my tene;
 Ryzt now to soper my soule is sette at þ^e table.
- 333 For with þ^e wordes & þ^e water þat weshe vs of payne
 Ligtly lasshit þer a leme loghet in þ^e abyme,
 þat spakly sprent my spyrit with vnsparid murthe
 Into þ^e cenacle solemly þer soupen alle trew;
- 337 & þer a marcialle hyr mette with menske alder-grattest,
 & with reuerence a rowme he razt hyr for euer.
 I heere þerof my heghe God, & also þ^e, bysshop,
 Fro bale has brozt vs to blis, blessid þou worthe!’
- [F. 75 b] 341 Wyt this cessyd his sowne, sayd he no more;
 Bot sodenly his swete chere swyndid & faylide,
 And alle the blee of his body was blakke as þ^e moldes,
 As roten as þ^e rottok þat rises in powdere.

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- 345 For as sone as þ^e soule was seȝyd in blisse,
 Corrupt was þat oper crafte þat couert þ^e bones;
 For þ^e ay-lastande life, þat lethe shalle neuer,
 Deuoydes vche a vayne glorie, þat vayles so litelle.
- 349 þen wos louynge oure Lorde with loves vp-halden;
 Meche mournynge & myrthe was mellyd to-geder;
 þai passyd forthe in procession, & alle þ^e pepulle folowid,
 And alle þ^e belles in þ^e burghe beryd at ones.

NOTES
TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY
AND GLOSSARY

I. TEXTUAL NOTES

(A) EMENDATIONS AND NOTES ON MS.

MS.		<i>Emendation in Text.</i>
1	At: rubricated initial sythen	[tyme]
13	pen: the e added above the line	
14	cristenderame	cristendame
43	makkyde	m[u]kkylde
45	to added above the line	
49	thre sperle	the spe[k]e
	sperle: this is the only occasion on which single l is crossed, as if it were final ll	
67	vnlouke: u added above the line; cp. 162, and loke, 68	
72	lydde blotted and written in the same hand in the margin	
76	bothn: the last letter has a curl, as if for final n, whereas the abbreviation is denoted by a horizontal line	both[um]
82	clene: MS. glene, with g crossed out and c written above	
85	tecche; the top of the first c has failed	
97	myde	my[n]de
103	pat euer was, burghe, boko	pat was, b[rut], bok[e]
104	more	mo[n]
109	with	[& þe]
116	dede	d[outh]
119	nattid	na[i]tld
121	a vison	a-vis[i]on
123	his	[p ^h]
130	pontificals: fi added above the line	
155	lattid	la[i]tid
161	p crossed out before pat	
162	vnlouke: u added above the line	
162	cure	c[reat]ure

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MS.		Emendation in Text.
171	glow	gl[e]w
172	&	[vs]
173	&	[anande]
177	Then: <i>rubricated initial</i>	
179	pou	p[us]
	no altered from ne	
181	bode: MS. bone, with d crossed out and n written above	
186	pou written above the line in a different hand	
190	brayed	bray[p]ed
192	sn lant goste lyfē; cp. 76	s[um] lyf[ly] goste lant
193	bis written above the line	
195	To p ^e	p ^e
205	lewid	l[applid]
206	meche	m[ut]he
	nōmbre; cp. 289	
208	bot: b has been altered from f fife	[aght]
210	A pousande	[pre hundred]
211	an heire of anoye	[o]n eire of an oye[r]
251	for p ^e gouvernour &	for govern[ance p ^e]
252	me	[per]
255	per	p[at]
262	rote: MS. route, with u crossed out	
273	sayes	say
286	p ⁱ	p ^{te}
289	nōmbre	
292	p ⁱ , ne	p ^{te} , [m]e
293	ne; e is very smudged, but it is not o	n[o]
295	Adam: the second a is written above the m	
297	tethe, take, glotte	te[c]he, t[o]ke, gl[e]tte
302	depe: the d is covered by a blot	
306	dynly	dy[m]ly
321	p ^e wete of	[of his] wete
322	&	[p ^e]
334	loghee	loghe

NOTES

(B) SUGGESTED METRICAL EMENDATIONS

<i>MS.</i>		<i>Suggested Original.</i>
6	new	new[e]
27	aght	aght[e]
29	ydols	ydol[e]s
30	Saxon	Saxon[e]
37	new	new[c]
40	eggit	eggit[e]
79	per-on	
94	ther	
118	þen	þen[ne]
144	fyrst	fyrst[e]
174	his	his[e]
210	aght	aght[e]
212	þen	þen[ne]
216	gentil	
229	gentil	
232	riȝt	riȝt[e]
241	ryȝt	ryȝt[e]
242	hert	hert[e]
257	hert	hert[e]
261	noght	
264	last	last[e]
271	has	
272	best	best[e]
273	sayd	sayd[e]
292	þer	
301	riȝt	
326	in	in[ne]
328	in	in[ne]
336	trew	trew[e]
340	worth	worth[e]

II. EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. [tyme]: MS. sythen.
14. *communates*, commonalties, bodies corporate, communities, 'communia'; see Preface, p. xxix.
- Cristendame*: MS. *cristenderame*.
17. & hade hym in sayntes: *i. e.* and got in saints for himself.
18. *cheuely*: primarily, as a chief preliminary.
- & chargit hom better: and gave them a better function to discharge.
21. *p^e Synagoge of p^e Sonne*: see Preface, p. xvi.
23. *dedifiet*: dedicated.
- (?) omit 'hom'.
24. (?) emend to 'sete', *i. e.* seat, see.
28. *title* is dative; 'and his name was given to the title of the temple', *i. e.* bestowed as designation.
30. (?) *Saxone*.
31. *Triapolitanes*: see Preface, p. xxiii.
33. *of þis Augustynes art*: of the Roman discipline, not the British.
34. *loue*: (?) l[e]ue. It is of interest that the phrase 'leeve London' is quoted in *EDD*. from Richardson's *Borderer's Table-book*, 1846. Perhaps the correct reading was 'loued', *i. e.* praised, famed.
41. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, grubber in the erthe.
42. So that the foundation in the first place should hold the foot, *i. e.* be secure. I doubt the correctness of the text, '*p^e fote halde*'. Probably the poet wrote 'be fote-halde'. If so, 'halde' would represent ON. *haldinn*, the pp. of *halda*, to hold, and although 'föt-haldinn' is not recorded, we find 'haldin orðr', discreet, close, which may be adduced in support of this suggestion.
43. *m[u]kkyde*: MS. *makkyd*.
44. *Troy Book*, 11863, *degheit* = digged.
49. *The spe[k]e*: MS. *thre sperle*. I venture to think that the scribe, troubled by the word 'speke', has misread it as 'sperle'. The word so far is only recorded in *Piers Plowman*, B. xv. 270:
'Monkes and mendynauntz, men bi hem-selue,
In spekes and in spelonkes selden spoken togideres.'
- 'The word *speke* probably occurs nowhere else as an English word, and does not appear in any Glossary, to my knowledge. If it were not for the context, it were hard to guess the sense. However, it is clear that *spelonke* is the Lat. *spelunca*, from which it follows that *speke* is the Lat. *specus*' (Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, ii. 223).
52. *roynyshe*: this cannot be as *NED*. glosses it, namely from 'roin', scab or scurf, hence paltry, mean, base; for obviously the meaning is that the words could not be understood. Cp. *runisch sauez*, *Cleanness*, 1545; *runisch rout*, *Gawain*, 457; *runischly*, *Gawain*, 304;

ru[n]yschly, *Gawain*, 432. Obviously the sense is 'strange'. The variant form 'renisch' and other reasons make any connexion with OE. rūn, rýne, ME. roun, ON. rún, 'rune', difficult, though attractive.

53. **vigures**: this form is generally regarded as a southern Middle English variant of 'figure', and, as in the present passage the *v* alliterates, it might easily be taken as evidence of southern origin. But that the form 'vigure' was not peculiar to the south is evident from its occurrence in so northern a poem as the *Cursor Mundi*, where it is the form recorded in the four chief manuscripts, l. 2290.

54. **muset**: *i.e.* all were non-plussed to read it.

64. **walon**: *i.e.* walen, betook themselves, chose their way. This rare form, the strong pp. of 'wale', to choose, evidently represents the ON. valinn, a strong pp., co-existing with valiðr and valdr, of velja, to choose. The form is found also in such a compound as ON. valinkunnr, respectable.

68. 'They would look on that coffin, as to what lay within.'

73-4. 'Then one might see perplexity on the people there, that might not understand a strange marvel.'

74. **to-knowe**, to discern; *cp.* OE. tō-cnāwan, to discern, understand; tō-cnāwennes, knowledge, but no other instance than the present passage seems to occur in ME. Similarly 'for-know' (in the sense of 'to slight') occurs but once in ME., *Cleanness*, 119. Both these compounds are unrecorded in *NED*.

75. **glode**: the bright inside; *cp.* *Pearl*, 79, gleml of glodeȝ.

76. **both[um]**: MS. bothn.

83. **coyfe**: this means a coif. Being a great representative of the law, the figure naturally bears in the first instance the lawyer's coif.

88. **ȝorde**: St. Paul's Churchyard.

89. MS. hȳ, *i.e.* hym; not hȳn = in, as Dr. Horstmann prints.

92. **in sounde**: in health.

93. 'For a time they asked each other without any answer'; *cp.* *Patience*, 220, 'Bot al watȝ nedles note'.

vschon: this form seems to me to be due to, or to stand for, 'ylche on'.

97. **my[n]de**: MS. myde.

99. **hit is a derfe wonder**: one would rather expect 'were'; it were a great wonder unless some person had stated that he had seen him, *i.e.* if there were no written statement to that effect in chronicles or the like.

100. **couthē**: not in the ordinary sense of 'could', but as a past auxiliary 'did', really used originally for 'gan', past tense of 'ginnan'. 'Couthē', though possibly quite correct in the present passage, was due to a confusion of 'can' = 'gan' with 'can' in the sense of 'be able'. Perhaps the poet wrote 'con' in this passage, and the scribe changed it to 'couthē', the result being the inharmonious repetition of the word here, in l. 98 (couthely) and l. 101, where 'couthē' is the correct past tense = 'could'.

101. **note**: *cp.* Note on l. 93.

nourne: this word, used three times in the poem, is peculiar to the *Gawain* poet, who uses it seven times in *Cleanness* and *Gawain*.

Its origin is unknown; it is evidently Scandinavian, and the only Scandinavian dialect where I have been able to trace it is that of Småland, Sweden.

102. 'Either by inscription, sign or record, or by story, tradition.'
Cp. l. 152, *Gawain*, 2521.

103. *Þat* was breuyt in b[rut] (MS. *Þat* euer was breuyt in burghe), i. e. recorded in the annals or chronicles of the land of Britain. The scribe, not understanding 'brut', has written 'burghe'; *cp. Parlement of the Thre Ages*, 407, When the Bruyte in his booke Bretayne it called.

bok[e]: MS. boko.

104. mo[n]: MS. more.

The force of the line is 'None could say (l. 101) that such a man was mentioned'.

more ne lasse: at all.

106. bolde: I much doubt the correctness of this word, which looks like a scribal change in place of some rare word. Perhaps the poet wrote 'beu' in place of 'beau', fair. The wonder was that a body so long buried was still so life-like.

107. primate: here used evidently for the Bishop of London; not in the technical sense of 'archbishop'.

109. [& þe]: MS. with; 'and the perplexity among the people'.

116. d[outh]e: MS. dede.

119. na[i]tyd: MS. nattid.

121. MS. a vison. 'Avison' existed in ME. with the accent on the first syllable, and this may account for the present spelling. For 'a-vis[i]on' *cp.* 'avysoun', *Pearl*, 1184.

123. [þi]: MS. his.

135. See Preface.

154. *Þat* . . . his: whose (an example of the broken relative).

155. la[i]tid: MS. lattid.

157. 'If we regard it from the natural point of view, he has certainly not lain here so long as to pass altogether out of memory, unless it were a wonder.'

161. prouidens: prescience. 'What is marvellous to men amounts to little, when weighed with the prescience, &c.'

163. & his mynde passyde: his mind is overcome.

168. c[reat]ure: MS. cure. 'When the creature's craft swerves entirely from counsel, then it behoves the creature to accept the strengthening of the Creator.' 'byhoues' was probably originally the Northern form 'bus'.

169. so: in this way.

171. gl[e]w . . . oþon: MS. glow; not 'look upon', but 'call upon'; *cp. Patience*, 164, Bot vchon glewed on his god.

172. careles is of counselle: untrammelled in judgment, otherwise 'careles' may mean here 'not niggardly, free'; *cp. Pearl*, 605, For þe gentyl Cheuentayn is no chyche.

[vs]: MS. &.

173. [Anande]: MS. &.

174. *his*: probably originally 'hise'.

176. 'And ready to fulfil your inclination.'

179. *p[us]*: MS. *pou*.

layne: be silent.

190. *bray[p]ed*: MS. *brayed*: evidently a scribal error. In ON. *bragða* means 'to give signs of life', of a new-born babe, of one swooning or dying, derived, I think, not, as Cleasby says, from 'braga', but from ON. *bragð*, a sudden motion. It = OE. *bregd*-, ME. *braid*. ON. *bregða*, to move swiftly (= OE. *bregdan*) appears in Middle English in the form 'braype'; *cp.* *Cleanness*, 1421, & *breyþed vppe in-to his brayn*.

192. *s[um] lyf[ly] goste lant*: MS. *sn lant goste lyfe*: *cp.* *Gawayn*, 2250, 'Nay, bi God', *quod* Gawayn, 'þat me gost lante'. With 'sn' compare MS. 'bothn', l. 76.

195. *p^e*: MS. to *p^e*.

202. That is, 'in respect of sitting in judgment, &c., i.e. sitting in judgment at the High Court, I looked after this city'. The nearest approach to this use of 'sad', which seems to be almost technical, as applied to the cases of importance that came before the chief magistrate of the city, is perhaps best illustrated by Buchanan's *Detection*, D. i. 6, 'quhilk esteme the sclanderis of maist lewd slicht personis, for *sad* testimoneis'; see Jamieson. The form 'sayd' seems to be authentic; 'said' occurs in the Edinburgh MS. of *Cursor Mundi*, l. 23436, but other MSS. give 'sad'.

205. *l[app]id*: MS. *lewid*. The *pp* was written in Middle English in a form that might easily be misread as *w*; hence 'lappid' was read as 'lawid', a variant form of 'lewed'. 'To lap' is first recorded in English about 1225, in the compound 'bilappe' or 'bileppe'. The word is connected with 'lap', meaning a fold or piece of cloth. The Wycliffite rendering of *Matt.* xxvii. 59 translates *involuit* by 'wlapside' in the earlier version, 'lappide' in the later version, where the *w* of the earlier form is probably due to the influence of the synonymous 'wrap', though some regard the Romanic base *volup*, *vilup* of 'envelope' as paralleled by the ME. form 'wlappen'. Skeat's view, however, is preferable, namely, that the *w* is due to analogy. But 'enveloped' would be an excellent rendering of 'lappid', *cp.* 'hit is bilepped and behud', *Ancren Riwle*, that is, it is enveloped and hidden. The line may therefore be explained as 'it is an enveloped date to tell to any man to make a number of'. Possibly the text originally ran: 'hit is a lappid date To muthe, &c.' *Vide* Preface, p. xxx.

206. *m[ut]he*: MS. *meche*. The scribe, probably misreading 'muthe' as 'muche', has further transformed the adverb into the characteristic form of the poem, 'meche'. The poet's 'muthe' = 'mouthe', to mouth, tell. A similar error is answerable, according to my view, for the difficult line in *Patience*, 54, *much ȝif he me ne made* = *muth ȝif he me ma[n]de*.

207. *Cp.* 42.

208. [*aght*]: MS. *fife*; see Preface.

210. [*Pre hundred*]: MS. *A þousande*; see Preface.

211. [o]n eire of an oye[r]: MS. an heire of anoye. This statement seems to have been a source of much trouble to all those who have attempted to deal with the line. Dr. Horstmann renders it 'heire of anoye, ein gefurchteter Herr', *i. e.* a terrible man. Dr. Neilson has: 'oye = grandson, but here?' But the meaning is to my mind clear. 'An heire' = 'on eire', *i. e.* in eyre; he was Justice in eyre, one of the itinerant Justices. 'Anoye' is a scribal error for 'an oyer'. 'Oyer' is from the well-known legal phrase 'oyer et terminer', to hear and determine. Commissions of oyer, or justices of oyer, were appointed to hear and determine indictments or special offences, and 'oyer' might be used for the Court of Oyer et Determiner. So he was the Justice in eyre of an Oyer.

213. Berynge: the poet probably wrote 'Brennyus'.

227. deputate: *cp.* Rolland, *Court of Venus*, iii. 181, Rhamnusia, quihlk was luge deputate, 1560.

domesmon: *cp.* 'domes man', *Cur'sor Mundi*, 5585, Trinity MS., where the other three texts have 'demister'.

243-4. 'Though it had been the very slayer of my father, I showed him no injustice, nor false favour to my father, though it fell him to be hanged.'

248. to bounty: for a reward.

249. curtest: a correct form of 'curtesest', most noble.

251. govern[ance þe]: MS. þe gouvernour &; *cp.* Alliterative *Troy Book*, 5719, graithor of gouernaunce.

252. [þer]: MS. me.

254. þe kidde kyng: this has the force of a superlative = chiefest.

255. þ[at]: MS. þer.

256. rewardid euer riȝt, may possibly mean 'reguarded ever justice'. On the other hand, the line looks as if it anticipated l. 275.

273. say: MS. sayes.

275. *Cp.* Ps. lxii. 12, and *Pearl*, 595.

278. The reference is evidently to Ps. xxiv. 3-4, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart.' The Latin of the second verse, 'innocens manibus et mundo corde', seems rendered by 'þe skilfulle and þe vnskathely', though it would give a nearer rendering were the words inverted. A more exact rendering of the verse is found in *Pearl*, 681-2. It is of interest to note that the Anglo-Saxon prose version translates 'innocens manibus' by 'þe unsæðfull byð mid his handum'.

The word 'skelton' has hitherto proved a crux. *NED.*, noting that the word 'skelt' is 'of obscure origin', quotes this passage as the first of several instances, assigning to it the sense 'to hasten, to be diligent'. A number of words of distinct origin are, I think, included under this one heading. The present word I take to be derived from OF. *esquelcte, eschelete; *cp.* esquele, mod. F. échelle, a ladder. 'Eschellet', a small ladder, is found in the sixteenth century in English. 'Skel't' seems to be equal to '*esqueleter', to mount the steps of a ladder, and, if so, is an accurate rendering of

'ascendere', Vulgate 'ascendet'. Lat. *scala*, the origin of Fr. *échelle*, is from the same root as 'scandere'. The poet probably had in mind 'scala coeli', the ladder into heaven. The Psalm does not actually make the Lord speak, the Psalmist himself appears to be the speaker. But our poet uses 'to me' advisedly, referring the words to the Lord; for the homilist interpreted the answer as God's own response. The author of *Pearl* distinctly makes this very point, l. 680.

'Hymself to onsware he is not dylle';

see Note on the passage.

I would differentiate this word 'skelt' from 'skelten', *Cleanness*, 1554, 'scoleres skelten þeratte'. This seems to me the weak past of 'skjalla', or causal 'skella', to clash, hammer, *i.e.* they cudgelled their brains.

The other quotations under 'skelt' in *NED.* with reference to skirmish and alarm may be referable, I suggest, to OF. *escheleter*, *esquaeter*, going back to OF. *eschele*, a little bell. If so, the phrase 'skeltyng of harme' in the *Destruction of Troy*, ll. 1089, 6042, would mean a notifying of peril.

285. *plite*: not here, as *NED.* suggests, pledge under risk, *i.e.* OE. *pliht*, but 'true condition, state of being, existence', AF. *plite*. The former meaning might be true if the reference were to the Redemption.

286. *p[el]*: MS. *p[el]*.

292. *p[el]* *loffyng*: MS. *p[el]*, *ne*.

p[el] *loffyng*: praising Thee. *Cp.* stage direction in *Chester Plays*, xvii (Christ's Descent into Hell): *Et sic Ibunt glorificantes Deum, cantantes 'Te Deum'*.

293. *n[o]*: MS. *ne*.

297. *te[c]he & t[o]ke*: MS. *tethe & take*; *gl[e]tte*, MS. *glotte*. 'Ye were empoisoned by his sin, and imbibed the corruption.'

entouchid: so far as I am aware there is no other occurrence, and certainly none recorded in English, of OF. *entoschier*, *entochier*, *entoucher*, with many variant forms = Latin *intoxicāre*, *i.e.* to poison. *Entosche*, *entouche* = poison, *n.* The words are common in OF., though lost in Modern French. The collocation of 'entosche et venim' is also found, *cp.* 'entosche e venim out meslé' (Ben., *D. de Norm.*, ii. 36944), and

'Male bouche

Qui envenime et qui entouche

Tous ceulz dont il fait sa matiere'.

(*Rose*, Vat. Chr., 1522, f. 27c.)

Evidently the poet is thinking of some such combination of 'entoucher et envenimer', and wrote 'toke in the glette', *i.e.* imbibed the venom, 'glotte' being a scribal error for 'glette', *cp.* *Cleanness*, 366, *þe gore þer-of me hatz greued & þe glette nwyed*; also 573-4, *þat vn-happen glette, þe venym & þe vylanye & þe vycios fylþe*.

In all probability the scribe, in writing 'take' for 'toke', had in mind the teeth of the whale as a symbol of death, and wrote 'glotte' with some thought of its being in the sense of swallowing; *cp.* *Patience*,

252, *Wythouten towche* of any tothe he tult in his þrote; *cp.* glut, the amount swallowed at a gulp. Glette, from OF. glette = slimy fluid, purulent matter, pus.

302. *þe depe lake*: the deep pit; a fairly common sense of the word in fourteenth-century Biblical English. Lat. lacus has this sense in late Latin and in the Vulgate, the idea being a hole or reservoir. Lewis and Short refer the Vulgate use in the sense of 'the place of the dead' to association with the river Styx, but there appears to be no evidence in favour of this view. It should also be noted that OF. lac is found for cavern or pit.

304. This looks like an echo of *Patience*, 19-20,

'þay ar happen also þat hungeres after ryzt,
For þay schal frely be refete ful of alle gode.'

306. *Dy[m]ly*: MS. *dynly*.

307. *Hungrie*: so MS., not 'hungre'. The MS. might possibly even be read 'hungrid'.

herken after meeles: yearn after meals. This most interesting early use of 'hearken' in the sense of 'scent after' is familiar to us in the modern phrase 'to hark back', and the dialect expression 'to hark after'. Indeed, to hark, in the sense of 'to smell', is recorded in *EDD*.—'Hark that smell'. Here, the sense seems to be 'to be in wait for, to yearn after'.

312. *spakly*: quickly, *cp.* *Patience*, 338, *þat he hym sput spakly vpon spare drye*.

320. *daungerde*: harmed; *cp.* Alliterative *Troy Book*, 146, *no daunger nor deire*.

321. [of his] *wete eghen*: MS. *þe wete of eghen*. The scribe left a small space after 'of', as if he was in some difficulty, and intended to make a correction.

322. [þe]: MS. &.

328. *lures*: lourings, glooms, darknesses; (?) *cp.* OE. *lūrian*; *cp.* *Pearl*, 358, & *þy lureȝ of lyȝtly leme*, and ll. 305-6 above.

331. *slent*: splash, sprinkling; *cp.* ON. **slent*, Norw. *slett*, from **slenta*, ON. *sletta*, to dash, throw.

333. *weshe vs*: evidently *pr. pl.* It is worth suggesting that possibly the poet wrote 'weshes of payne', and that 'vs', which is somewhat unexpected, is due to a scribal misreading.

334. *loghe*: MS. *loghee*.

337. *Cp. Cleanness*.

343. *moldeȝ*: *cp.* *Pearl*, 30, *moldeȝ dunne*; *Cleanness*, 494, *A message fro þat meyny hem moldeȝ to seche*.

344. *rottok*: the next recorded occurrence after this in *NED*. is from Jamieson's *Popular Ballads*, 1806, where it is glossed as 'old musty corn, literally, the grubs in a bee-hive'; and the Banffshire Glossary under 'rottack', 1867, has 'anything stored up for a long time with the idea of mustiness'.

GLOSSARY

- a, *v.* an.
 abatyd, *pp.* demolished, 37; OF.
 abatre.
 abbay, 108; OF. abbeie.
 a-boute, *adv.* 48; *prep.* aboute,
 110; OE. on-būtan.
 abyne, pit of hell, 334; OF.
 abime.
 acounte, reckoning, 209; OF.
 acunt.
 Adam, 295.
 adon, *adv.* down, 322; OE. of
 dūne.
 after, *adv.* 112, 116; *prep.* 126,
 141; according to, by the
 authority of, 195; OE. æfter.
 after-warde, 127; OE. æfter-
 weard.
 age, 150; OF. aāge.
 aghe, *n.* fear, 234; ON. agi.
 aght, (1) *pt.* 3 s. owned, 27; 2 s.
 aghtes, 224; OE. āgan.
 aght (2), eight, 210; OE. eahta.
 aghtene, eighteen, 208; OE.
 eahtatiene.
 al, *adj.* with *sg.* 119, 331; alle,
 137, 246; with *pl.* 10, 14, 23,
 171; *absol.* 310; al, 144; *adv.*
 75, 122; alle, 300; OE. eall.
 alder, ancestor, 295; OE. ealdor.
 alder-grattyst, greatest of all, 5;
 alder-grattest, 337; OE. ealra,
 grēat.
 allas, 288; OF. a las.
 alowes, *pr.* 3 s. commends, 267;
 OF. alouer.
 als, as, 85, 242; as, 4, 36, 344;
 OE. eall swā.
 also, 327; OE. eall, swā.
 amounte, *inf.* reach, 284; OF.
 amunter.
 an, *indef. art.* 108; a, 3; OE. ān.
 [anande], concerning, 173; OE.
 on efn + -d.
 and, 280; &, 2; ande, 59; OE.
 and.
 ansuare (1), *n.* 127; OE. and-
 swaru.
 ansuare (2), *imp. s.* 184; OE.
 andswarian.
 any, 85, 206, 284; OE. ænig.
 Appolyn, 19.
 appulle, 295; OE. æppel.
 araide, *pp.* 77; arayed, 271;
 OF. arayer.
 are (1), before, 36; OE. ær; ON.
 ār; *cp.* er.
 are (2), arne, art, *v.* be.
 art, school, system, 33; OF. art.
 as, *v.* als.
 aske, *pr. pl. subj.* 171; *pt. s.* 96;
 OE. āscian.
 aspied, *pt. s.* 65; *cp.* OF. espier.
 assent, *n.* 66; OF. assent.
 at, 1; from, 170; OE. æt.
 atyride, *pp.* robbed, 130; OF.
 atirer.
 Austyn, Augustine, 12; *gen.*
 Augustynes, 33.
 autere, altar, 137; OF. auter.
 auay, *inf.* instruct, 174; OF.
 avei, *stem of* avier.
 a-vis[i]on, vision, 121; OF. avi-
 sion.
 auisyde, *pt. pl.* studied, 53; OF.
 aviser.
 awen, own, 235; OE. āgen.
 ay, ever, 273, 287, 301; ON. ei.
 ay-lastande, eternal, 347; ON.
 ei, OE. lāstan.
 bale, sorrow, 257, 340; OE. bealu.
 balefully, sorrowfully, 311; OE.
 bealufull + -(ly).

- bapteme, baptism, 330; OF. bapteme.
 barones, 142; OF. baron.
 bashis, *pr.* 3 *s.* surprises, 261; OF. esbaiss-, *inchoative-stem of* esbaier.
 baythos, *pr.* 3 *s.* asks, 257; ON. beitha.
 be, *inf.* 94; *pres.* 2 *s.* art, 185; 3 *s.* is, 19, 153; *pl.* arne, 304, are, 283; *imp.* *s.* be, 325; *pr.* 1 *s.* subj. 122; 3 *s.* 326; *pt.* 1 *s.* was, 201, 211; 2 *s.* was, 288; 3 *s.* 11, 31; was, 3, 6, 255; *pl.* were, 32, 128; *pt.* 1 *s.* subj. 197; 3 *s.* 226, 239; *pp.* bene, 7, 26; OE. beon; *cp.* nas.
 bede, *v.* bydde.
 bedels, town-criers, 59; messengers, 111; OE. bydel; OF. bedel.
 before, *prep.* 143; *conj.* 209; OE. beforan.
 begynnes, *pr.* 3 *s.* 131; OE. beginnan.
 behalue, behalf, name, 181; OE. be healfe.
 belles, *pl.* 352; OE. belle.
 Belyn, 213.
 beme, tree, cross, 182; OE. bēam.
 benche, judge's seat, 250; OE. bench.
 bende, *pp.* bound, 182; OE. bendan.
 bene, *v.* be.
 bere, *pt.* 3 *s.* bore, 311, 326; OE. beran.
 beryd, *pt.* *pl.* beat, rang, 352; ON. berjā.
 Berynge, 213.
 besiet, *pt.* *pl.* employed, 56; OE. bysgian.
 best, *v.* gode.
 besyde, *v.* by-side.
 bete, *pt.* 3 *pl.* beat, 9; *pp.* beten; OE. beatan.
 better, *v.* gode.
 biddes, *v.* bydde.
 bi, *v.* by.
 bigripide, *pt.* 3 *s.* begirt, 80; OE. begripan.
 biknowe, *imp.* *s.* confess, 221; OE. becnāwun.
 biloeue, faith, 173; biloue, 299; OE. (ge)lōafa.
 bischop, 33, 111; bisshop, 193, 221; byschop, 3, 129; OE. bisceop.
 biseche, *inf.* 120; OE. be- + sēcenn.
 bitan, *pp.* given to, 28; be- + ON. taka.
 bitwene, *adv.* 196; *prep.* 214; OE. betwōcnum.
 blakke, 343; OE. blac.
 bloo, colour, 87, 343; OE. blōo.
 blossid, *pp.* 340; blissid, 326; blossyd, consecrated, 3; OE. blōtsinn.
 blis, 340; blisse, 345; OE. blīps.
 blisful, 326; blisfulte, 76; OE. blīps + full.
 blissid, *v.* blossid.
 blo, dark, 290; ON. blār.
 blode, blood, 182, 290; OE. blōd.
 blonke, horse, *literally* white (horse), 112; OE. blanca.
 blynne, *inf.* stop, 111; OE. blinnan.
 blysnande, shining, 87; *cp.* OE. ablisian.
 bode, bidding, 181; boode, 193; OE. bod.
 boden, *v.* bydde.
 bode-worde, message, 105; OE. bod + word.
 body, 76, 94; OE. bodig.
 boghe, *inf.* bow, 194; *pt.* *pl.* boghit, went, 59; OE. būgan.
 boghtes, *pt.* 2 *pl.* boughtest, 289; OE. bycgan.
 bok[e], book, 103; OE. bōc.
 bolde, *adj.* 213; (?) grent, 106 (*see Note*); OE. beald.
 bone (1), petition, 194; ON. bōn.
 bone (2), murderer, 243; OE. bana.

GLOSSARY

- bone (3), obedient, 181; ON. būinn, ready.
 bones, bones, 346; OE. bān.
 bonkes, shores, borders, 32; ON. *banke; Olcel. bakki.
 boode, *v.* bode.
 bordure, edge, 51; *pl.* bordures, 82; OF. bordure.
 bot, *conj.* 52, 141; only, 32; if not, 100; I may not bot, 194; hit myzt not be bot, 97; OE. būtan.
 bote, avail, 170; remedy, 327; OE. bōt.
 bothe, 194; ON. bā*ir.
 both[um], bottom, 76; OE. botm.
 bounty, reward, 248; OF. bontet.
 bourne, stream, 330; OE. burna.
 brawnche, part, share, 276; OF. branche.
 bray[p]ed, *pt.* 3 *s.* moved, 190 (*see Note*); ON. brag*ā.
 Bretaynes, Britain's, 32.
 Breton, Briton, 213; *pl.* Bretons, 9.
 breuyt, *pp.* written, 103; ON. brēfa; med.L. breviare.
 brode, broad, 55; OE. brād.
 broght, *v.* brynge.
 brothire, 213; OE. brōðor.
 b[rut], chronicle, 103; W. brut.
 Brutus, 207.
 bryzt, bright, 51, 87; OE. beorht, breht.
 brynge, *inf.* 56; *pp.* broght, 105; OE. bringan.
 buggyd, *pp.* built, 37; buggid, 207; ON. byggja, to inhabit.
 burde, *pt.* *impers.* it behoved, 260; OE. byrian.
 burgeys, citizens, 59; OF. burgeis.
 burgh, town, 3; OE. burh.
 buriet, *pt.* buried, 248; *pp.* buried, 94; buriedē, 106; OE. byrgan.
 burynes, tomb, 142, 190; OE. byrignes.
 buskyd, *pt.* 3 *s.* set out, 112; ON. būask.
 busmare, *n.* insult, 214; OE. bīmer.
 by, *prep.* 66; bi, 90; OE. bi.
 bydde, *pr.* 1 *s.* command, 181; 3 *s.* biddes, 221; *pt.* 1 *s.* bede, offered, 243; 3 *pl.* commanded, 67; *pp.* boden, offered, 214; OE. bēodan, biddan.
 byhoues, *pr.* *impers.* it behoves, 168; OE. bihōfan.
 byschop, *v.* bishop.
 by-side, *adv.* aside, 67; *prep.* be-syde, 142; OE. be sīdan.
 by-tyme, forthwith, 112; OE. bī, tīma.
 cazt, *v.* kaghten.
 callid, *pt.* 3 *s.* 16; ON. kalla.
 camelyn, a stuff made of camel's hair, 82; OF. camelin.
 careles, untrammelled, 172; OE. carlēas.
 carpe, *inf.* say, 317; ON. karpa.
 cast, *inf.* 317; *pp.* kest, 83; ON. kasta.
 cause, *n.* 221; *pl.* causes, cases, 202; OF. cause.
 cayser, emperor, 199; ON. keisari; L. Cæsar.
 cenacle, banqueting room, 336; OF. cenacle.
 cessyd, *pt.* 3 *s.* ceased, 341; *pp.* 136; OF. cesser.
 chargit, *pt.* 3 *s.* commissioned, 18; OF. charger.
 chaungit, *pt.* 3 *s.* 18; OF. changer.
 chere, expression, 342; OF. chere.
 cheuely, primarily, 18; OF. chef + -ly.
 childes, *gen.* s. 318; OE. cild.
 cite, city, 202; OF. cite.
 cladden, *pt.* *pl.* 249; OE. clæðan.
 clansyd, *pt.* 3 *s.* cleansed, 16; OE. clænsian.

- clene, fair, 82; undefiled, 259; OE. clāne.
 clerke, scholar, 55; OE., OF. clerc.
 clos, enclosure, 55; OF. clos.
 clothe, cloth, 82; fabric of attire, 148, 263; clothing, 266; *pl.* clothes, clothes, 259; OE. clāp.
 cloutes, rags, 259; OE. clūt.
 cloyster, enclosed place, 140; OF. cloistre.
 clustrede, fastened together, 140; OE. clyster, a cluster.
 colde, *adv.* wretchedly, 305; OE. cealde.
 colour, colour of attire, 148; colour, 263; OF. culur.
 comaundit, *pt.* 3 s. 115; OF. cumander.
 come, *pt.* 3 s. came, 113; *pl.* comen, 63; OE. cuman.
 comforthe, *n.* strengthening, 168, 172; OF. cunfort.
 committid, *pp.* appointed, 201; L. committere.
 communnates, commonalties, 14; OF. communauté.
 con, *pr.* *pl.* can, 156; *pt.* 3 s. couthe, 100, 249; OE. cann.
 confirmynge, *pr.* p. 124; OF. confermer; L. confirmāre.
 confourmyd, *pt.* 3 s. regulated, 242; OF. conformer.
 consciens, *n.* 237; OF. conscience.
 conuertyd, *pt.* 3 s. converted, 14; OF. convertir.
 corce, *v.* cors.
 corners, 71; AF. corner; OF. cornier.
 coron, crown, 83; cron, 222; OF. corone.
 coronyd, *pt.* *pl.* crowned, 254; OF. coroner.
 corrupt, *adj.* 346; OF. corrupt; L. corruptus.
 cors, body, 110; corce, 177; OF. cors.
 councele, *imp.* s. conceal, 184; OF. conceler.
 counselle, wisdom, 167, 172; AF. conseil.
 courte, court of justice, 249; OF. curt.
 couthe, *v.* con.
 couthely, manifestly, 98; OE. cūðlice.
 couert, *pt.* 3 s. covered, 346; OF. cuvrir.
 couetise, covetousness, 237; OF. coeuitise.
 coyfe, head-covering, lawyer's cap, 83; OF. coife.
 crafte, skill, 167; something skillfully formed, thing made, 346; OE. cræft.
 crafty, skilfully wrought, 44; OE. cræftig.
 crakit, *pp.* uttered, 110; OE. cracian.
 creatore, creator, 168; OF. creator.
 c[reat]ure, creature, 168; *gen.* s. creatures, 167; OF. creature.
 Crist, 2; Criste, 209; *gen.* s. Cristes, 16.
 cristen, Christian, 124, 209; OE. cristen.
 Cristendome, 2; Christendame, 14; OE. cristendōm.
 cron, *v.* coron.
 cronicle, record, 156; *pl.* cronicles, 44; AF. cronicle; OF. cronique.
 crosse, 2; ON. kross.
 crowes, crow-bars, 71; OE. crāwe.
 crownes, tonsures, 55; AF. coroune.
 cry, *n.* 110; OF. cri.
 cumly, fitting, 82; OE. cȳmlīc.
 curtest, most courteous, 249; OF. curteis.
 dalfe, *pt.* 3 *pl.* dug, 45; *pp.* doluen, buried, 99; OE. delfan.

GLOSSARY

- dampnyd**, *pp.* condemned, 302; OF. dampner, damner.
- date**, *n.* 205; OF. date.
- daungerde**, *pt.* 3 *s. subj.* damaged, 320; OF. dangerer.
- dawes**, *pr.* 3 *s.* dawns, 306; *pt.* 3 *s.* dawid, 27; OE. dagian.
- day**, 236; *pl.* **dayes**, 155; **dawes**, 7; OE. dæg.
- day-belle**, morning bell, 117; OE. dæg, belle.
- debonerte**, graciousness, 123; OF. debonairete.
- declynet**, *pt.* 3 *s.* deviated, 237; OF. decliner.
- dede** (1), task, duty, 169; OE. dæd.
- dede** (2), dead, 225, 320; OE. dead.
- dedife**, *inf.* dedicate, 6; *pt.* 3 *s.* dedifist, 23; *confusion between* OF. dedier, L. dēdicāre, and OF. edefier, L. ædificāre.
- defaute**, defect, 148; OF. defaute.
- deghed**, *pt.* 1 *s.* died, 246; ON. deyja.
- dene**, dean, 144; OF. deien.
- denyed**, *pt.* 3 *s.* resounded, 246; OE. dynian.
- depe**, *adj.* deep, 302; *adv.* 45, 99; OE. dēop.
- deputate**, deputy, 227; L. dēputātus.
- dere**, dear, 225; precious, 193; **deere**, noble, 23, 123, 144; *sup.* derrest, 29; OE. dēore.
- derfe**, extraordinary, 99; ON. djarfr, bold.
- derke**, dark, 117, 294; OE. deorc.
- derrest**, *v.* dere.
- dethe**, 247, 294; OE. dēap.
- deuelle**, devil, 15; **deuel**, 27; OE. dēofol.
- deuisyt**, *v.* deuyse.
- deuoydes**, *pr.* 3 *s.* expels, 348; *pt.* 3 *s.* deuoydit, withdrew, 116; OF. devoidier.
- deuyne**, *pr.* 1 *pl. subj.* conjecture, 169; OF. deviner.
- deuyse**, *inf.* relate, 225; *pt.* 3 *s.* deuisyt, 309; **deuysit**, arranged, 144; OF. deviser.
- digne**, *imp. s.* vouchsafe, 123; OF. degnier.
- ditte**, *pt.* 3 *s.* shut, 116; OE. dyttan.
- dole**, part, 6; OE. dāl.
- doluen**, *v.* dalfe.
- dome**, judgment, 236; OE. dōm.
- domesmon**, judge, 227; OE. dōmes, mann.
- Domini**, of the Lord, 132.
- don**, *v.* doun.
- doun**, down, 320; **don**, 6, 311; OE. dūn.
- d[outh]e**, company, 116; OE. dugup.
- drawen**, *pp.* pulled, 6; OE. dragan.
- drede**, *n.* fear, 233; OE. (an)-drædan.
- dreme**, sound, 191; OE. drēam.
- drery**, doleful, 191; OE. drēorig.
- dresser**, *inf.* prepare, 236; OF. dresser.
- droppyd**, *pt.* 2 *s. subj.* 320; OE. dropian.
- dryghtyn**, lord, 29; OE. dryhten.
- dryues**, *pr.* 3 *s.* 191; OE. drīfan; *cp.* ouer-drofe.
- duke**, 227; OF. duc.
- dul**, grief, 246; OF. doel, duel.
- dulfully**, wretchedly, 302, 309; OF. doel + -full + -ly.
- durr**, door, 116; OE. duru.
- dwellide**, *pt. pl.* 10; OE. dwellan.
- dwynande**, pining, 294; OE. dwīnan.
- dyght**, *pt.* 3 *s.* set in order, 23; **dyzt**, appointed, 294; OE. dihtan.
- dyzt**, *pt. pl.* dug, 45; OF. diguer.
- dy[m]ly**, *adv.* 306; OE. dimlic, *adj.*
- dyuerse**, different, 60; OF. divers.
- efte**, again, 37; OE. eft.
- eggit**, *pp.* edged, 40; OE. ecg, *n.*

- eghe-lyddes, eyelids, 178; OE. *ēage*, hlid.
 eghen, eyes, 194, 311; OE. *ēage*.
 eire, circuit, 211 (*see Note*); OF. *eire*.
 elles, otherwise, 121; OE. *elles*.
 enbawmyd, *pp.* embalmed, 261, 265; OF. *enbaumer*.
 enbelicet, *pp.* adorned, 51; OF. *enbelliss-*, *inchoative stem.* of *enbellir*.
 ende, *n.* 136; OE. *ende*.
 Englonde, 1.
 enjoynyd, *pp.* appointed, 216; OF. *enjoign-*, *stem* of *enjoindre*, *cp.* *joyned*.
 enprise, renown, 253; OF. *emprise*.
 entouchid, empoisoned, 297; OF. *entoucher* (*see Note*).
 er, before, 308; ere, 19, 118; OE. *ær*; *cp.* *are* (1).
 eres, ears, 90; OE. *ēare*.
 Erkenwolde, 4, 33, 108, 118.
 erthe, earth, 45, 196; OE. *eorþe*.
 Essex, 108.
 ete, *pt.* 3 s. ate, 295; OE. *etan*.
 eucl, hardly, 276; OE. *yfele*.
 euer, ever, 104, 198; always, 230, 267; for e., 154, 296; OE. *æfre*.
 euermore, 26; euer-more, 110; OE. *æfre*, *mære*.
 exiled, *pp.* 303; OF. *exilier*.
 face, 89, 323; OF. *face*.
 fader, father, 244, 294; *gen. s.* 243, 318; OE. *fæder*.
 faire, 46, 317; OE. *fæger*.
 faithe, *pp.* 124, 173; *faythe*, 13, 204; OF. *feid*.
 faitheles, unbelieving, 287; OF. *feid* + *-less*.
 faitheful, 299; OF. *feid* + *-full*.
 fals, treacherous, 231; unfair, 244; IOE., OF. *fals*.
 fastynge, confirmation, 173; OE. *fæsting*.
 fauour, favour, 244; OF. *favour*.
 faylid, *pt.* 3 s. lacked, 287; *faylide*, passed away, 342; OF. *faillir*.
 fayne, desirous, 176; OE. *fægen*.
 faythe, *v.* *faithe*.
 felle, *pt.* 3 s. 323; *impers.* it befel, 244; OE. *feallan*.
 felonse, fierce, 231; (?) OF. *felons*, *adj. nom. s.*; *cp.* *NED*.
 ferforthe, far, 242; OE. *feorr*, *forþ*.
 ferly (1), *n.* marvel, 145; OE. *færlic*, sudden.
 ferly (2), *adv.* marvellously, 46; OE. *færlice*.
 fest, feast, 303; OF. *feste*.
 fleshe, 89; OE. *flæsc*.
 flore, level surface, foundation, 46; OE. *flōr*.
 folke, 231; OE. *folc*.
 folwe, *pr.* 1 s. baptize, 318; OE. *fulwian*.
 fonte, font, 299; OE. *font*; Eccles. Lat. *fontem*.
 for, *prep.* 296, 310; *conj.* 7, 29; OE. *for*.
 for-go, *inf.* 276; OE. *forġan*.
 forthe, *adv.* 351; OE. *forþ*.
 for-pi, therefore, 279; OE. *forþy*.
 forwrast, *pp.* overpowered, 220; OE. *for* + *wræstan*, to twist.
 fote, base of building, 42; OE. *fōt*.
 founden, *v.* *fynde*.
 fourme, form, 230; OF. *fourme*.
 fourmyt, *pp.* formed, in good condition, 46; OF. *fourmer*.
 forty, 230; OE. *fēowertig*.
 fre, noble, 318; OE. *frēo*.
 freke, man, 287, 323; OE. *freca*.
 frende, friendly, 174; OE. *frēond*, *n.*
 freshe, unsullied, 89; OF. *fresche*, *f.*

GLOSSARY

- freten, *v.* moght-freten.
 fro, from, 12, 107; ON. frā.
 frowarde, refractory, 231; ON.
 frā + -ward.
 ful, *adv.* 55, 82; fulle, 1, 53; OE.
 full.
 fulfile, *inf.* 176; OE. full-fyllan.
 fulloght, baptism, 299; OE.
 fulluht.
 fulsen, *imp. s.* help, 124; *cp.* OE.
 fullæstan.
 fundement, foundation, 42; OF.
 fondement; L. fundāmentum.
 furrid, *pt. 3 pl.* clothed in fur,
 252; *pp.* furrit, lined with fur,
 81; OF. forre, sheath, case.
 fynde, *inf.* 156; *pt. pl.* founden,
 43, 46; OE. findan.
 fyndynge, *n.* 145; OE. findan +
 -ing.
 fyne, pure, 173; *sup.* fynest,
 most excellent, 252; OF. fin.
 fynger, 145, 165; OE. finger.
 fyrre, further, 169, 293; OE.
 fyrr.
 fyrst, *adj.* 331; *adv.* 197; on f.,
 42, 144; on fyrste, 207; OE.
 fyrst.
 gargeles, carved ornaments like
 gargoyles, 48; OF. gargouille.
 garnysht, *pp.* 48; OF. garniss-
 lengthened stem of garnir.
 gate, way, 241; ON. gata.
 gay, bright, 75; brightly dressed,
 134; OF. gai.
 gedrid, *pp.* assembled, 134; OE.
 gædrian.
 gefe, *v.* gyfe.
 gentil (1), heathen, 216; OF.
 gentil; L. gentilis.
 gentil (2), noble, 229; OF. gentil.
 gete, *pt. 3 s.* induced, 241; ON.
 geta.
 glent, *inf.* deviate, 241; *cp.* Sw.
 dial. glänta, to slip.
 gl[e]tte, venom, 297 (*see Note*);
 OF. glette.
 gl[e]w, *pr. 1 pl. subj. call*, 171;
 OE. gleowian.
 glisnande, glittering, 78; OE.
 glisnian.
 glode, bright space, 75 (*see Note*);
cp. ON. glaðr, shining, solar-
 glačan, sunset; OF. glæd, shin-
 ing; OE. sunne gæp to glade;
 Orkney dial. glode; *cp.* E. glade,
 glode.
 God, 325, 339; Godde, 171, 282;
gen. s. Goddes, 316; OE. god.
 gode, good, 230; *adv.* wele, 183;
 wel, 119; *comp.* better, 18;
sup. best, 272; OE. gōd.
 golde, 75, 248; *attrib.* 51; OE.
 gold.
 goste, 127, 192; OE. gäst.
 gouern[ance], governing power,
 251; OF. gouernance.
 gowne, 78; OF. goune.
 grace, 120, 171; OF. grace.
 gracious, 319; OF. gracios.
 graunte, *n.* promise, 126; OF.
 graanter, *vb.*
 graue, grave, 153; OE. græf, *dat.*
 græfe.
 gray, *adj.* 48; OE. græg.
 graythist, wealthiest, 251; ON.
 greiðr.
 grete (1), ground, 41; OE.
 grēot.
 grete (2), great, 134, 282; OE.
 grēat.
 grette, *pt. 3 s.* cried, 126; OE.
 grētan.
 gronynge, *n.* groan, 282; OE.
 grānung.
 grounde, foundation, 41; OE.
 grund.
 grubber, digger, 41; OE. *grybban
 + -er; *cp.* ON. gryfja; E. Fris.
 grubbeln.
 grue, whit, 319; (?) OF. gru,
 grain; *v. NED.*
 gurdan, *pt. 3 pl.* girt, 251; OE.
 gyrdan.
 gurdille, girdle, 80; OE. gyrdel.

- gyfe, *inf.* give, 276; *pt.* 3 s. gefe, 282; OE. giefan.
 gynful, deceitful, 238; *cp.* OF. engin.
 gyngge, company, 137; OE. genge.
 3ea, yea, 273; OE. gēa.
 3ee, ye, 170; 3e, 175, 297; *acc.* 3ow, 174; OE. gē.
 3emyd, *pt.* 1 s. ruled, 202; OE. gēman.
 3epely, recently, 88; OE. gēaplice.
 3ere, *pl.* years, 208, 210; 3eres, 11; OE. gear, *pl.*
 3et, yet, 44, 148; in addition, 210, 257; OE. giet, get.
 3isturday, yesterday, 88; OE. gestordæge.
 3ode, *pt.* 3 s. went, 198; OE. gān, *pt.* ēode.
 3orde, yard (?) = St. Paul's Church-yard, 88; OE. gearð.
 3oskyd, *pt.* 3 s. sobbed, 312; OE. geocsa, *n.*; *cp.* OE. giscian.
 3our, your, 173, 174; OE. ēower.
 3ow, *v.* 3ee.
 had, hade, haden, hades, *v.* haue.
 halde, *inf.* hold, 42, 166; holde, 232, 249; *pr.* 2 s. haldes, 223; OE. healdan; *cp.* vp-halden.
 halowes, saints, 23; OE. hālga.
 han, *v.* haue.
 harde, 40, 288; OE. heard.
 harmes, 232; OE. hearm.
 has, *v.* haue.
 hathel, man, 198; *deriv.* unknown.
 hatte, *pt.* 3 s. was called, 4, 25; OE. hātte.
 haue, *inf.* have, 260; *pr.* 3 s. has, 296; *pl.* han, 300; haue, 155; *pt.* 2 s. hades, 224; 3 s. had, 7; hade, 119; *pl.* haden, 8; *pt.* s. *subj.* hade, 100; *pl.* 88; OE. habban.
 he, 13; *dat.* hym, 17, 89; *acc.* 100; OE. hē.
 hedde, head, 281; OE. hēafod.
 heere, *pr.* 1 s. praise, 339; *pp.* herid, 325; OE. herian.
 heghe, *adj.* high, 129, 137; *sup.* heghest, 253; *adv.* heghe, 223; OE. hēah.
 heldes, *pr.* 3 *pl.* bow, 196; *pt.* 3 s. heldyt, turned away, departed, 137; OE. heldan.
 helle, 196; OE. hel.
 helle-hole, the pit of hell, 291, 307; OE. hel, hol.
 hemmyd, *pp.* bordered, 78; OE. hemm, *n.*
 hende, gracious, 325; near at hand, 58; OE. (ge)hende.
 Hengyst, *gen.* s. 7.
 hent, *pt.* 1 s. received, 232; 2 s. hentes, took, 291; OE. hentan.
 herden, *pt.* *pl.* heard, 310; OE. hīeran.
 here, *adv.* 13; OE. hēr.
 herghedes, *pt.* 2 s. harriedst, 291; OE. hergian.
 herid, *v.* heere.
 herken, *inf.* hear, 134; yearn after, 307 (*see Note*); OE. heorcnian.
 hert, heart, 242, 257; OE. heorte.
 hethen, heathen, 7; OE. hǣðen.
 heuen, heaven, 166, 196; OE. heofon.
 hewe, *inf.* hew, 40; *pp.* hewen, 47; OE. hēawan.
 hewes, hues, 87; OE. heow.
 highide, *pt.* *pl.* hastened, 58; OE. hīgian.
 his, 5, 28; OE. his.
 hit (1), *nom.* it, 7, 26; *acc.* 279; *nom.* *pl.* 304; OE. hit.
 hit (2), its, 309.
 ho, she, 274, 308; *dat.* hyr, 280, 338; *acc.* 308, 337; OE. hēo.
 holde, *v.* halde.
 holy, 4, 127; OE. hālig.
 hom, *v.* pai.

GLOSSARY

home, 107; OE. hām.
 honde, hand, 84, 223; *pl.* hondes, 90, 166; OE. hand.
 honde-quile, instant, 64; OE. hand-hwil.
 honeste, honesty, 253; OF. honeste.
 hongyt, *pp.* hanged, 244; OE. hangian.
 honour, 253; OF. honur.
 hope, *pr.* 1 s. believe, 4; OE. hopian.
 hor, their, 17, 61; OE. heora.
 heure, *n.* 326; *pl.* heures, pray-ers said at the canonical hours, 119; OF. ure; L. hōra.
 how, 258, 283; OE. hū.
 hummyd, *pt.* 3 s. murmured, 281; *cp.* MHG. hummen; MSwed. hum, *n.*
 hundred, 208; hundrid, 58; OE. hundred.
 hungride, *pt. pl.* 304; OE. hyn-gran, hungor, *n.*
 hungrie, *adj.* 307; OE. hungrig.
 hurlyd, *pt.* 3 s. flung, 17; *cp.* LG. hurrelen.
 hyder, hither, 8; OE. hider.
 hym, *v.* he.
 hyr, *v.* ho.
 I, 4; *dat.* me, 278; *acc.* 292; OE. ic.
 ilke, same, 101, 193; ylka (= ilk a), each, 96; OE. ilca.
 in (1), *prep.* 1, 326; inne, 149; OE. in.
 in (2), *adv.* 24; OE. inn.
 into, *prep.* 302; in-to, 9; OE. intō.
 in-with, within, 307; OE. in, wið.
 is, *v.* be.
 James, 22.
 japes, tricks, 238; OF. japper, to bark, *with sense of* OF. gabier, to mock; *cp.* ON. gabba.

Jhesus, 180; Jhesu, 22.
 ioly, beautiful, 229; OF. joli.
 Jono, Juno, 22.
 ioy, joy, 180, 188; OF. joi.
 joyned, *pp.* appointed, 188; OF. joign-, *stem of* joindre; *cp.* en-joynyd.
 Jubiter, 22.
 iuge, judge, 216; OF. juge.
 iugement, judgment, 238; OF. jugement.
 iuggid, *pp.* judged, 188; iuggit, 180; OF. jugier.
 justifet, *pt.* 1 s. administered justice in, 229; OF. justifier.
 iustises, justices, 254; OF. justise.
 kaghten, *pt.* 3 *pl.* took hold, 71; *pp.* caȝt, taken, 148; ONF. cachier.
 keies, keys, 140; OE. cæg.
 kene, wise, 254; OE. cēne.
 kenely, eagerly, 63; OE. cēnlice.
 kenne, *inf.* know, 124; OE. cennan.
 kepten, *pt. pl.* guarded, kept private, 66; *pp.* kēpyd, preserved, 266; 10E. cēpan.
 kest, *v.* cast.
 kidde, *pp.* renowned, 222, 254; kydde, 44; k. of Saint Paule, called St. Paul's, 113; OE. (ge)-cȳðed.
 kithe, country, 98; OE. cȳðð.
 know, *pr.* 1 s. 263; *pt.* 3 s. knewe, 285; OE. cnāwan; *cp.* to-knowe, vknawen.
 knyzt, knight, 199; OE. eniht.
 kydde, *v.* kidde.
 kynde, nature, 157; OE. gecynd.
 kynge, 98, 156; OE. cyning.
 kynned, *pt.* 3 s. was born, 209; OE. cennan.
 kynnes, classes, 63; OE. cynn.
 kyrke, church, 113; *pl.* kyrkes, 16; ON. kirkja.

lacche, *inf.* get, 316; OE. læccan.

- laddes, serving-men, 61; *cp.*
 Dan. aske-ladd, youngest son in
 a fairy-tale.
 lady, 21; OE. hlæfdige.
 laftes, *pt.* 2 s. leftest, 292; *pl.*
 laften, 61; OE. læfan.
 laghe, faith, 34, 203; law, 245;
 lawe, 216; *pl.* laghes, 287;
 lawes, 268; OE. lagu.
 laide, *v.* lay.
 la[i]tid, *pp.* searched, 155; ON.
 leita.
 lake, 302, pit; OF. lac; L. lacus.
 lant, *v.* lene.
 l[app]id, involved, 205 (*see Note*);
 OE. lappa, *n.*
 large, 72; OF. large.
 lasse, *v.* litelle.
 lasshit, *pt.* 3 s. darted quickly,
 334; *cp.* NED. under 'lash'.
 last, *inf.* 264, 272; *pt.* 3 s. lastyd,
 215; OE. læstan.
 later, latter, 136; OE. lætra.
 lathe, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* invite, 308;
 OE. læðian.
 lauande, *pr. p.* flowing, 314; OE.
 læfan.
 lawe, *v.* laghe.
 lay(1), *inf.* 67; *pt. pl.* laide, 72;
pp. layde, 149; OE. lecgan.
 lay(2), layn, *v.* lye.
 layne, *imp. s.* conceal, 179; ON.
 løyna.
 lede, man, 146, 200; OE. lēod.
 lege, liege; l. men, vassals, 224;
 OF. lige.
 lely, faithfully, 268; OF. leel +
 -ly.
 leme, *n.* light, 334; OE. lēoma.
 lene, *pr.* 3 s. *subj.* grant, 315; *pp.*
 lant, 272; lent, 192; OE.
 lænan.
 lenger, *v.* longe.
 lengthe, 205; OE. lengþu.
 lengyd, *pt.* 3 s. lay, 68; OE.
 lengan.
 lepen, *pt. pl.* leapt, 61; OE.
 hlēapan.
 lere, *v.* lire.
 leste, *v.* litelle.
 lethe, *inf.* cease, 347; eME. leþ, *n.*
 lettes, *pr.* 3 s. hinders, 165; OE.
 lettan.
 lettres, 51, 111; OF. lettre.
 leue (1), permission, 316; OE.
 læf.
 leue (2), *inf.* believe, 175; *pr.*
 1 *pl.* leuen, 183; 2 *pl.* leues,
 176; OE. læfan.
 leuyd, *v.* lyuye.
 librairie, 155; F. librairie.
 liche, body, 314; lyche, 146;
 OE. lic.
 lidde, 67; lydde, 72; OE. hlid;
cp. eghe-lyddes.
 lies, ligges, *v.* lye.
 life, 224, 347; lyfe, 150, 315;
 lyue, 236; OE. lif.
 lighten, *pt.* 3 *pl.* fell, 322; OE.
 lihtan.
 lightly, quickly; OE. lēohtlice.
 Limbo, the abode of the just who
 died before Christ's coming,
 292; *abl.* of L. limbus, border.
 lippes, 91; OE. lippa.
 lire, flesh, 149; lere, 95; OE. lira.
 listonde, *pt. pl.* listened, 219;
 ONorth. lysna.
 litelle, *n.* 160, 190; *adv.* 165,
 348; *comp. adj.* lasse, 247; *adv.*
 104, 320; *sup. adj.* leste, 162;
 OE. lýtēl.
 lo, *interj.* 146; OE. lā.
 lodely, horrible, 328; OE. lāðlic.
 loffyng, *pr. p.* praising, 292; *pp.*
 louyd, 288, 324; ON. lōfa; *cp.*
 louynge.
 loghe, *adv.* low, 334; ON. *adj.*
 lāgr; *cp.* on-loghe.
 loke, *inf.* consider, 157; exa-
 mine, 68; *pt.* 3 s. lokyd, looked,
 318; OE. lōcian.
 loken, *pp.* enclosed, 147; OE.
 lūcan.
 lome, chest, 68, 149; OE. ge-
 lōma, utensil.

GLOSSARY

- londe, land, 200, 224; *pl.* londes, 30; OE. land.
- London, 1, 25, 34.
- longe, *adj.* 1; *vpon* 1, at last, 175; *adv.* 95, 157; *comp.* lenger, 179, 319; OE. lang.
- longen, *pr. pl.* pertain, 268; *cp.* OE. gelang, dependent on.
- lord, 288, 315; lorde, 134, 280; *pl.* lordes, 138, 146; OE. hlāford.
- lore, science, 264; OE. lār.
- louse, *inf.* loose, 165; *pt.* 3 s. loused, 178; ON. lauss, *adj.*
- loue, dear, beloved, 34; OE. lēof; ON. liúfr.
- loues, *pr.* 3 s. loves, 268, 278; OE. lufian.
- loves, hands, 349; ON. löfi.
- louyd, *v.* loffyng.
- louynge, *verbal n.* praising, 349; ON. lofa, *v.*; *cp.* loffyng.
- lures, lourings, glooms, darknesses, 328; (?) *cp.* OE. lūrian.
- luste, *pt. impers.* it pleased, 162; OE. lystan.
- lyche, *v.* liche.
- lydde, *v.* lidde.
- lye, *inf.* 264; *pr.* 2 s. ligges, 186; lies, 179; 3 s. lyes, 99; *pt.* 3 s. lay, 281, 314; lyggid, 76; *pp.* layne, 95; layn, 147; OE. licgan.
- lyfe, *v.* life.
- lyf[ly], living, 192; OE. liflic.
- lytande, *pr. p.* lifting, 178; ON. lypta.
- lyggid, *v.* lye.
- lynge, *verb. n.* 205; OE. licgan + -ung.
- lykhame, body, 179; OE. lich-ama.
- lym, limb, 224; OE. lim.
- lyue, *v.* life.
- lyuye, *inf.* live, 298; *pp.* leuyd, 328; OE. lifian.
- macers, mace-bearers, 143; OF. maissier.
- made, *v.* make.
- maghty, mighty, 27; maȝti, 143; maȝty, 283; myȝty, 175; OE. mechtig, mihtig.
- Mahon, Mohammed, 20.
- maire, mayor, 65, 143; OF. maire.
- make, *inf.* 206, 238; *pp.* made, 39, 50; makyd, 128; OE. macian.
- maker, 283; OE. macian + -er.
- malte, *inf.* melt, 158; OE. meltan.
- manas, threat, 240; OF. manace.
- manerly, decorously, 131; OF. maniere + -ly.
- maners, habits, 60; OF. maniere.
- mantel, 81, 250; OF. mantel.
- marbre, marble, 48, 50; OF. marbre.
- marcialle, marshal, an officer who arranged the places of the guests at a banquet, 337; OF. mareschal.
- Margrete, 20.
- martilage, necrology, 154; med. L. martilogium.
- mason, 39; OF. masson.
- masse, 129, 131; OE. mæsse.
- matens, the service preceding mass, 128; OF. matines.
- matyd, *pp.* baffled, 163; OF. mater, *from* mat, mated at chess, Pers. māt.
- Maudelayne, 20.
- may, *pr.* 3 s. 151; *pl.* 175; *pt.* 1 s. myȝt, 316; 3 s. 94; *pl.* 74; OE. mæg.
- mayster-mon, chief, ruler, 201; OE. mægester; OF. meister; OE. mann.
- mayster-ton, chief town, 26; OE. tūn.
- maystrie, power, 234; OF. mais-trie.
- me, *v.* I.
- meche, much, 220, 350; large, 81; *comp.* more, greater, 247; more, 341; mo, 210; *comp. adv.* more, 104; *sup. adv.* moste, 269; OE. mycel.

- mecul, great, 27, 286; ON. mykell.
 mede, reward, 234; medes, good deeds, 270; OE. mēd.
 medecyn, remedy, 298; OF. medecine.
 meeles, meals, 307; OE. mæl.
 mekest, *sup.* 250; ON. mjükr.
 mellyd, *pp.* mingled, 350; OF. meller.
 memorie, 158; memorial, 44; OF. memorie.
 men, *v.* mon.
 mendyd, *pp.* 298; AF. mender.
 mene, *inf.* mean, 54; remember, 151; OE. mēnan.
 menske, honour, 337; ON. mennska.
 menskefully, nobly, 50; ON. mennska + -fully.
 menskes, *pr.* 3 s. honours, 269; *pt. pl.* menskid, 258; ON. mennska, *n.*
 menyd, *pt. pl.* lamented, 247; OE. mēnan.
 menyuer, a kind of fur used for linings, 81; OF. menu vair.
 merciles, deprived of mercy, 300; OF. merci + -less.
 mercy, 284, 286; OF. merci.
 mere, mare, 114; OE. mere.
 meritorie, praiseworthy, 270; OF. meritoire.
 merkid, *pp.* marked, 154; OE. mearcian.
 meruayle, wonder, 43, 158; meruaille, 160; OF. merveille.
 mery, *adj.* 39; OE. myrige.
 meschefe, injury, 240; OF. meschef.
 mesters-mon, craftsman, 60; OF. mestier; OE. mann.
 mesure, limit, 286; OF. mesure.
 metely, fitly, 50; OE. (ge)mæte + -ly.
 metropol, chief town, 26; OF. metropole.
 mette, *pt.* 3 s. 337; *pl.* metten, 114; OE. mētan.
 meynye, retinue, 65; OF. meyné.
 ministres, attendants, 131; OF. ministre.
 mo, *v.* meche.
 moder, mother, 325; OE. mōdor.
 moght-freten, moth-eaten, 86; OE. moððe, moððe, fretan.
 molde, earth, 270; *pl.* moldes, 343; OE. molde.
 mon, 4, 206; *gen. s.* monnes, 163, 240; *pl. men*, 58, 283; OE. mann.
 monlokest, most humane, 250; OE. mann + -ly.
 mony, many, 11, 153, 220; mony a, 39, 79; mony one, 214; OE. manig.
 more, moste, *v.* meche.
 morowen, morning, 306; OE. morgen.
 motes, spots, 86; OE. mot.
 moulunge, *verb. n.* mould, 86; *cp.* Olcel. mygla.
 mountes, *pr.* 3 s. amounts, 160; OF. munter.
 mournynge, *n.* 350; OE. murning.
 mouthe, *inf.* declare, 54; m[ut]he, 206 (*see Note*); OE. mūþ, *n.*
 m[u]kkyd, *pt. pl.* shovelled, 43; ON. moka.
 murthe, *v.* myrthe.
 muset, *pt. pl.* were at a loss, 54; OF. muset.
 m[ut]he, *v.* mouthe.
 my, *v.* myn.
 mydelle, 80; OE. middel.
 myzt (1), might, 163; *pl.* myztes, 162; myghtes, 283; OE. miht.
 myzt (2), *v.* may.
 myzty, *v.* maghty, 175.
 myn, my, 194, 235; my, 123, 380; OE. min.
 mynde, memorial, 154; mental powers, 163; memory, 151; my[n]de, 97; OE. gemynd.

- mynnyd**, *pt. 3 s.* mentioned, 104; ON. minna.
mynnynge, remembrance, 269; ON. minna + ing.
mynster, temple, 27; cathedral, 35; OE. mynster.
mynster-dores, the cathedral doors, 128; OE. duru.
mynte, *pt. 3 s.* pointed out, 145; OE. myntan.
mynyd, *pt. pl.* dug, 43; OF. miner.
myrthe, 350; **murthe**, 335; OE. myrgp.
myselfe, 300; OE. mē self.
myste, *pp.* 300; OE. missan.
mysterie, *n.* 125; OF. mistere; AF. *misterie.
na[i]tyd, *pp.* repeated, 119; ON. neyta, to use.
nakyde, *adj.* 89; OE. nacod.
name, 28, 195; **nome**, 152, 318; *pl.* nomes, 18; OE. nama.
nas = ne was, 285; OE. ne was; *cp.* be.
Nay, 265; ON. nei.
Ne, nor, 104, 218; OE. ne.
neghe, *adv.* nearly, 119; OE. nēah, nēh.
neuenyd, *pp.* named, 25, 195; ON. nefna.
neuer, *adv.* 72, 156; OE. nāfre.
new, *adj.* 24; *adv.* anew, 6; **newe**, 14; OE. nēowe.
no, *adj.* 199, 312; *adv.* 179; **n[o]**, 293; OE. nān.
noble, 38, 227; OF. noble.
noȝt, nothing, 56, 208; **noght**, 101; *adv.* 261; **noȝt**, 1; **not**, 319; OE. nōwiht.
noice, noise, 218; **noyce**, 62; OF. noise.
nombre, number, 206, 289; OF. nombre.
nome, *v.* name.
non, by no means, 157; OE. nān, *adj.*
none, none, 101; **non**, 289; OE. nān.
nones, nonce, 38; for **pe n.** = for þen ones; OE. for ðam, ānes.
not, *v.* noȝt.
note, labour, 101; occupation, 152; piece of work, 38; OE. notu.
notes, 133; OF. note.
nothyre, *v.* noȝer.
notyde, *pp.* written, 103; OF. noter.
noȝer, neither, 102, 152; **nothyre**, 199; OE. ne + oðer.
nourne, *inf.* tell, 101, 152; *pp.* **nournet**, adjured, 195; *origin unknown*.
now, 19, 325; OE. nū.
noy, trouble, 289; OF. anoi.
noyce, *v.* noice.
nyȝt, night, 119; OE. niht.
of, 19; away from, 167; OE. of.
ofte, 135, 232; OE. oft.
o-lofte, *v.* on-lofte.
on, *prep.* 2, 331; at, 42; **one**, in, 152; OE. on.
one, *adj.* 156, 319; *with superlative*, 198; OE. ān.
ones, once, 352; OE. ānes.
one-vnder, underneath, 70; OE. on + under.
on-lofte, *adv.* above, 81; *prep.* o-lofte, 49; ON. ā lopti.
on-loghe, *adv.* low, 147; OE. on + ON. lāgr.
openly, 90; OE. openlice.
opon, open, 128; OE. open.
opon, *v.* vpon.
or, *v.* oȝer (2).
oȝer (1), *adj.* 346; *pron.* 93; *pl.* othire, 32, 59; OE. oðer.
oȝer (2), or, 20, 188; **oȝir**, 86; **oȝer** ... **oȝer**, either ... or, 86; or, 121; OE. oððe; *superseded by eME. oðer as conj.*
oure, 21, 294; OE. ūre.
oure-selfe, 170; OE. ūre + self.

oute, 9, 167; owte, 17; owte,
191; OE. *ūt*.
ouer-drofe, *pt.* 3 s. passed, 117;
OE. *oferdrifan*.
oye[r], court of Oyer et Deter-
miner, 211 (*see Note*); AF. *oyer*;
OF. *oir*.

palais, palace, 115; OF. *palais*.
Paradis, 161; OF. *paradis*.
parage, noble lineage, 203; OF.
parage.

partyd, *pp.* 107; OF. *partir*.
passide, *pt.* 3 s. 138; *passyd*, 115;
pl. 351; *pp.* *passyde*, surpassed,
163; OF. *passer*.

Paule, 113; *gen.* 35.

payne, torment, 333; OF. *peine*.
payntyde, *pp.* 75; OF. *peindre*,
pr. 3 s., *pp.* *peint*.

paynym, heathen, 285; *gen. pl.*
paynymes, 203; OF. *paenime*.
pepul, people, 10, 296; *pepulle*,
351; OF. *pueple*.

perle, pearl, 79; OF. *perle*.

peruertyd, *pt. pl.* turned from
the faith, 10; OF. *pervertir*.

pes, peace, 115; OF. *pais*.

Petre, 19.

picchit, *pp.* set, 79; OE. **piccan*.
pinchid, *pt. pl.* moved (the lid)
with levers, 70; OF. *pincier*;
ONF. **pinchier*; *cp.* mod. Norm.
pincher.

place, 10, 144; OF. *place*.

planede, *pp.* smoothed, 50; OF.
planer.

plantyd, *pt.* 3 s. 13; OE. *plantian*.
playn, *adj. used as n.*, level floor
of the church, 138; OF. *plain*.
plied, *pt. pl.* betook themselves,
138; OF. (a) *plier*.

plite, nature, 285; AF. *plit*, con-
dition.

plyztles, blameless, 296; OE.
pliht.

pontificals, episcopal robes, 130;
F. *pontifical*; L. *pontificalis*.

pope, 12; OE. *pāpa*.

porer, poorer, 153; OF. *povre* +
-er.

powdere, 344; OF. *poudre*.

power, 228; OF. *poër*.

poysned, *pp.* 296; OF. *poisonner*.

praysid, *pp.* 29; OF. *preisier*.

prece, crowd, 141; OF. *presse*.

prechyd, *pt.* 3 s. 13; OF. *prechier*.

precious, 79; OF. *precios*.

prelacie, clerical attendants, 107;
AF. *prelacie*.

prelate, 130, 138; OF. *prelat*.

prestly, speedily, 130; OF. *prest*;
cp. *vnpreste*.

primate, bishop, 107; OF. *primat*.

prince, 161, 203; OF. *princ*.

prises, levers, 70; OF. *prise*.

procession, 351; OF. *procession*.

prouidens, providence, 161; OF.
providence.

psalmyde, *pp.* written in the form
of psalms; OE. *psealm*; L.
psalmus.

pure, 13; OF. *pur*.

putten, *pt.* 3 *pl.* put, 70; *pp.*
putte, 153, 228; OE. *putian*.

pyne, punishment, 188; trouble,
141; *cp.* OE. *pīnian*, to tor-
ment; L. *pœna*.

quat, *rel. pron.* what, 68, 94;
interr. 301; OE. *hwæt*.

quaynt, elaborate, 133; OF.
cointe; *cp.* *quontyse*.

quen, when, 65, 291; OE. *hwænne*.
queme, pleasing, 133; OE. *gec-*
wēme.

quere (1), choir, 133; OF. *cuer*.

quere (2), where, 274, 279; OE.
hwær.

questis, bursts of song, 133;
literally, cry of hunting dogs
when in sight of game; OF.
queste.

queper, whether, 188; neverthe-
less, 153; OE. *hweðere*.

quill, while, 217; OE. *hwil*, *n*.

GLOSSARY

quile, time, 105; OE. hwīl.
 quontyse, marvel, 74; OF. coin-
 tise, *cp.* quaynt.
 quop, *pt.* 3 s. said, 146, 265; OE.
 cweþan.
 guy, why, 186, 222; OE. hwȳ.
 qwo, who, 185; quo, 197; OE. hwā.

 radly, quickly, 62; OE. hrædlice.
 razt, *pt.* 3 s. gave, 280, 338; *pl.*
 raght, 256; OE. ræcan.
 rattes, rags, 260; *derivation un-*
known.
 rayked, *pt.* 3 s. went, 139; ON.
 reika.
 reame, realm, 11, 135; OF.
 reaume.
 rede, red, 91; OE. rēad.
 redeles, destitute of counsel, 164;
 OE. rædlēas.
 redes, *pr.* 3 s. governs; OE.
 rædan.
 redy, expert, 245; OE. (ge)ræde
 +y.
 refetyd, *pp.* refreshed, 304; OF.
 refaitier.
 regne, kingdom, 212; OF. regne.
 regnyd, *pt.* 3 s. reigned, 151; OF.
 regner.
 reken, upright, 245; rekenest,
 noblest, 135; OE. recen.
 relefe, relief, 328; OF. relief.
 remewit, *pt.* 1 s. deviated, 235;
 OF. remuer.
 renaide, *pp.* apostate, 11; OF.
 reneier, to renounce.
 renke, man, 239; *pl.* renkes, 271;
 OE. rinc.
 repairen, *pr.* *pl.* go, 135; OF.
 repairer.
 reson, reason, 267; by r. myn
 awen, by my own will, 235;
 resonos, sentences, 52; OF.
 reisun.
 restorment, restoration, 280;
 OF. restorement.
 reule, *inf.* rule, 231; *pt.* 3 s.
 rewlit, 212; OF. reuler.

reuele, *inf.* reveal, 121; OF.
 reveler.
 reuerens, respect, 239; reue-
 rence, 338; OF. reverence.
 reuestid, *pp.* robed, 139; OF.
 revestir.
 rewardes, *pr.* 3 s. rewards, 275;
pt. 1 s. rewardid, regarded,
 256; ONF. rewarder.
 rialle, royal, 77; OF. rial.
 riche, wealthy, 239; noble, 77,
 212, 267; *adv.* 139; OE. rice.
 richely, 304; OE. rice + -ly.
 riȝt (1), justice, 271; right, 304;
 ryȝt, 272; *pl.* riȝtes, 269; OE.
 riht.
 riȝt (2), *adv.* rightly, 256; ryȝt,
 just, 332; OE. riht.
 rises, *pr.* 3 s. 344; OE. risan.
 rode (1), rood, 290; OE. rōd.
 rode (2), red colour, 91; OE. rudu.
 ronge, *v.* ryngande.
 ronke, numerous, 11, 262; abun-
 dant, 91; OE. ranc.
 ronnen, *pt.* *pl.* ran, 62; OE.
 rinnan.
 rose, *n.* 91; OE. rose.
 rote, *n.* rot, 262; ON. rot.
 roten, rotten, 344; ON. rotinn.
 rotid, *pp.* rotted, 260; OE. rotian.
 rottok, a decayed thing, 344 (*see*
Note); *derivation unknown.*
 route, crowd, 62; OF. route.
 routhe, pity, 240; OE. hrēow +
 -th.
 row, 52; OE. rāw.
 rowme, place, 338; OE. rūm.
 roynyshe, strange, uncouth, 52
 (*see Note*).
 ryȝt, *v.* riȝt.
 ryȝtwis, righteous, 245; OE.
 rihtwīs.
 ryne, *inf.* touch, 262; OE. hrīnan.
 ryngande, *pr.* *p.* resounding, 62;
pt. 3 s. ronge, rang, 117; OE.
 ringan.

 sacrifices, 30; OF. sacrifice.

- sacryd, *pp.* consecrated, 3 ;
 sacrid, 159 ; OF. sacrer.
 sadde, grave, 324 ; OE. sæd.
 sake, 239 ; OE. sacu.
 same, 204 ; ON. same.
 Sandewiche, 12.
 Sathanas, 24 ; OF. Sathanas ; L.
 Satanās.
 saule, *v.* soule.
 Sauyoure, Saviour, 324 ; OF.
 sauveour.
 sawe, speech, 184 ; OE. sagu.
 Saxon, *adj.* 30 ; *n. pl.* Saxones,
 8 ; *gen.* 24.
 say, *inf.* 100 ; *imp. s.* 279 ; *pr. 2 s.*
 says, 159 ; 3 s. 277 ; *pt. 3 s.* ;
 sayd, 273 ; sayde, 122 ; *pp.* 136,
 189 ; OE. secgan.
 sayd, weighty, important, 202 ;
 OE. sæd.
 saynt, 4, 113 ; *pl.* sayntes, 17 ;
 OF. saint.
 sayntuare, holy place, 66 ; OF.
 saintuaire.
 schedde, *v.* sheddes.
 schewyde, *v.* shewid.
 se, *inf.* see, 293 ; *pr. pl.* 170 ; 3 s.
subj. 308 ; *pp.* sene, 100 ; OE.
 sēon.
 seche, *inf.* seek, 170 ; explore, 41 ;
 OE. sēcan.
 sege, *n.* see, 35 ; OF. sege.
 segge, man, 159, 189 ; OE. secg.
 sele, bliss, 279 ; OE. sæl.
 selfe, 197 ; OE. self.
 semely, fitting, noble, 84 ; *adv.*
 semely, 35 ; ON. sēmiligr.
 semes, *pr. 3 s.* seems, 98 ; ON.
 sēma.
 sende, *inf.* 172 ; *pt. 3 s.* 111 ; *pp.*
 8, 12 ; OE. sendan.
 sene, *v.* se.
 septre, sceptre, 223, 256 ; sep-
 ture, 84 ; OF. sceptre.
 Ser, sir, 108, 213 ; OF. sire.
 seruice, 136 ; OF. service.
 seruyd, *pp.* deserved, 275 ; *aphetic*
form of OF. deservir.
- sesy⁴d, established, 345 ; OF. seisir.
 sette, *pp.* 232 ; sett, 84 ; appointed,
 dedicated, 21, 24 ; OE. settan.
 seuen, seven, 155 ; OE. seofon.
 sewide, *pt. 3 s.* followed, 204 ;
 OF. suir.
 sextene, sexton, 66 ; F. sacristain.
 shal, *pr. 1 s.* 174 ; 3 s. shalle, 347 ;
pt. 3 s. shulde, 54, 255 ; shuld,
 42 ; OE. sceal.
 shapen, *v.* shope.
 sheddes, *pt. 2 s.* 328 ; 3 s. schedde,
 182 ; OE. scēadan.
 shewid, *pt. pl.* appeared, 90 ; *pp.*
 schewyde, shown, 180 ; OE.
 scēawian.
 shope, *pt. 3 s.* prepared, 129 ; *pp.*
 shapen, made, 88 ; OE. scieppan.
 shuld, *v.* shal.
 sike, *inf.* sigh, 305 ; *pt. 3 s.* syked,
 323 ; *pp.* 189 ; OE. sīcan.
 sithen, since, 185 ; sythen, 180 ;
 after, 2 ; longe sythen, long
 ago, 260 ; OE. siððan.
 sitte, *inf.* 305 ; sytte vpon, pre-
 side over, 202 ; *pr. 3 s.* sittes,
 293 ; syttes, 35 ; OE. sittan.
 skelton, *pr. pl.* ascend, 278 ;
see Note.
 skilfulle, following reason, right-
 eous, 278 ; ON. skil + -full.
 slekkyd, *pt. 3 s.* allayed, 331 ;
 Norw. slekkja ; OE. sleccan.
 slent, sprinkling, 331 ; ON. sletta,
 to dash ; Sw. slinta, to slip.
 slepe, sleep, 92 ; OE. slæp.
 slippide, *pp.* 92 ; *cp.* MLG. slippen.
 slode, *pt. 3 s.* fell, 331 ; OE. slidan.
 so, 23, 303 ; OE. swā.
 sodanly, suddenly, 92 ; sodenly,
 342 ; OF. soudain + -ly.
 solemply, with due ceremony,
 129, 336 ; OF. solempne + -ly.
 solempne, sacred, 303 ; *sup.*
 solempnest, religiously most
 important, 30 ; OF. solempne.
 sone, soon, 345 ; forthwith, 72 ;
 OE. sōna.

GLOSSARY

- songen, v. synge.**
sonne, sun, 21 ; OE. sunna.
soper, supper, 303, 332 ; OF. soper.
sorow, 305 ; sorowe, 309, 327 ; OE. sorg.
sothe, adj. true, 277 ; n. truth, 170, 197 ; sope, 159 ; OE. sōþ.
soule, 279, 328 ; saule, 273 ; OE. sāwol.
soun, n. sound, voice, 324 ; sowne, 341 ; AF. soun ; OF. son.
sounde, health, 92 ; OE. gesund, adj.
soupen, pr. pl. sup, 336 ; OF. souper.
souerayn, lord, 120 ; OF. souverain.
sowne, v. soun.
space, 93, 312 ; OF. espace.
spake, v. speke.
spakly, continuously, 312 ; quickly, 335 ; ON. spakliga.
speche, 152 ; OE. spræc ; IOE. spæc.
spede, profit, 132 ; OE. spēd.
spedeles, unavailing, 93 ; OE. spēd + -less.
speke, inf. 312 ; pt. 3 s. spake, 217 ; OE. sprecan ; IOE. specan.
spe[k]e, a canopied tomb, 49 (see Note) ; L. specus.
spelunke, coffin, 49, 217 ; OF. spelunque ; L. spelunca, cave.
spiritus, spirit, 132.
spradde, pt. 3 s. opened out, 49 ; OE. sprædan.
sprange, pt. 3 s. 217 ; OE. springan.
sprent, pt. 3 s. sprang, 335 ; ON. *sprenta, spretta.
spyr, inf. ask, 93 ; OE. spyrian.
spyrir, 335 ; AF. spirit ; OF. esperit.
stablyde, pp. established, 2 ; stablid, 274 ; OF. establir.
stadde, pp. placed, 274 ; ON. staddr.
stille, 219 ; OE. stille.
ston, stone, 47, 219 ; pl. stones, 40 ; OE. stān.
stondes, pr. 3 s. stands, 164 ; pt. pl. stoden, 52, 219 ; pt. 3 s. subj. stode, 97 ; OE. standan.
stoundes, hours, 288 ; OE. stund.
strange, 74 ; OF. estrange.
strejt, strictly, 274 ; OE. streht, pp. of streccan, to stretch.
suche, suche a, 97, 146 ; pl. suche, 178 ; OE. swylc.
suffride, pt. 3 s. suffered, 2 ; OF. suffrir.
summe, some, 100, 276 ; OE. sum.
sutile, subtle, 132 ; OF. sutil.
swarues, pr. 3 s. swerves, 167 ; OE. sweorfan.
swete, 120, 342 ; OE. swēte.
swyndid, pt. 3 s. vanished, 342 ; OE. swindan.
syked, v. sike.
synagoge, 21 ; OF. sinagoge.
synge, inf. 129 ; pp. songen, 128 ; OE. singan.
sythen, v. sithen.
sytte, v. sitte.
table, 332 ; OF. table ; OE. tabule.
take, inf. accept, 168 ; pt. 3 s. toke, took, 313 ; pl. token, took their way, 57 ; t[o]ke in, swallowed, 297 ; ON. taka.
tale, 102, 109 ; OE. talu.
talent, desire, 176 ; OF. talent.
talkes, pr. 3 s. 177 ; cp. EFris. talken.
tecche, blemish, 85 ; te[c]he, fault, 297 ; OF. teche.
teches, pr. 3 s. 34 ; OE. tēcan.
telle, inf. 114 ; pt. 1 s. tolde, 36 ; pl. tolden, 109 ; pp. tolde of, called, 31 ; OE. tellan.
temple, 5, 28 ; pl. temples, 15 ; OE. templ ; OF. temple.
temyd, pt. pl. belonged, 15 ; OE. tiēman.
tene, woe, 331 ; OE. tēona.

- teres, *pl.* tears, 314, 322; OE. *tēar*.
 thar, *pr.* 3 s. dare, 262; OE. *pearf*.
 the, *v.* þ^e, þou.
 thenke, *pr.* 1 s. intend, 224; OE.
 þencan.
 ther, *v.* þer.
 thi, *v.* þin.
 this, *v.* þis.
 thrid, third, 31; OE. *þrida*.
 thurghe, *v.* purghe.
 threnen, three times, 210; *cp.*
 ON. *þrennr*.
 throghe, coffin, 47; OE. *þrūh*.
 thryuandly, excellently, 47; ON.
 þrifask, to thrive.
 thykke, 47; OE. *þicce*.
 thynkes, *pr.* *impers.* it seems, 259;
 OE. *þyncan*.
 tille, until, 136; til, 12, 313;
 ON. *til*.
 tithynges, tidings, 57; ON.
 tiðindi.
 title, 28; inscription, 102; OF. *title*.
 to, 6, 15; OE. *tō*.
 to-geder, 228, 350; OE. *tōgædere*.
 token, sign, 102; OE. *tācn*.
 t[o]ke, token, *v.* take.
 to-knowe, *inf.* understand, 74;
 OE. *tōcnāwan*; *cp.* know, *vn-*
 knawen.
 tolde, *v.* telle.
 toles, tools, 40; OE. *tōl*.
 tome, interval, 313; ON. *tōm*.
 ton, *v.* toun.
 to-rent, *pp.* shattered, 164; OE.
 torendan.
 tounge, tomb, 46, 313; AF.
 tumbe; OF. *tombe*.
 tounge-wonder, marvel of the
 tomb, 57; AF. *tumbe*; OE.
 wundor.
 toun, town, 229; ton, 5, 57; OE.
 tūn.
 towards, in comparison with,
 161; OE. *tōweard*.
 trew, true, 336; OE. *trēow*.
 Triapolitan, 36; Triapolitanes,
 31; *cp.* Preface, p. xxiii.
- trillyd, trickled, 322; *cp.* Dan.
 trille, Sw. *trilla*.
 Troie, 25, 211, 251; Troye, 255.
 tronyd, *pp.* enthroned, 255; OF.
 trone, *n.*
 troubulle, unrest, 109; OF. *truble*.
 trouthe, 13, 184; OE. *trēowþ*.
 trowid, *pt.* 3 s. believed, 204; *pl.*
 255; OE. *trūwian*.
 tulkcs, men, 109; ON. *tülkr*.
 turnes, *pr.* 3 s. 177; *pl.* 3 s. *turnyd*,
 changed, 15; OE. *turnian*; OF.
 turner.
 twayne, two, 32; OE. *twāgen*.
 two, 91; OE. *twā*.
 tyme, 5, 284; OE. *tīma*.
- þaghe, though, 122, 243; þof, 320;
 OE. *þāh*.
 þai, they, 9, 43; *dat.* *hom*, 260;
 acc. 53, 232; ON. *þeir*.
 þat, *adj.* *dem.* 3; *pron.* *dem.* 69,
 300; *pron.* *rel.* 10; that which,
 19; OE. *þæt*.
 þe, *def. art.* 5; the, 34; IOE. *þe*.
 þen (1), then, 11, 118; OE. *þænne*.
 þen (2), than, 270; OE. *þænne*.
 þer, *adv.* *dem.* there, 39, 138;
 ther, 3, 94; *pron. rel.* *þer*, where,
 53, 306, 314; OE. *þær*.
 þer-after, 189; OE. *þær æfter*.
 þer-as, where, 167; OE. *þær*,
 eall swā.
 þerinne, 27; OE. *þærinne*.
 þerof, 339; OE. *þær of*.
 þer-on, 79; OE. *þæron*.
 þer-oute, 291; OE. *þærūt*.
 þer-tille, thereto, 69; OE. *þær*;
 ON. *til*.
 þer-to, 59; OE. *þærtō*.
 þes, *v.* þis.
 þi, *v.* þin.
 þider, thither, 58, 135; OE. *þider*.
 þiderwarde, 112; OE. *þider-*
 weard.
 þiderwardes, 61; OE. *þider-*
 weard + -es.

GLOSSARY

- pin, thy, 330; *pi*, 284; *thi*, 283, 290; OE. *sin*.
pis, 33; *this*, 11; *pl. pes*, 317; OE. *sis*.
pi-selwen, thyself, 185; OE. *se selfum*.
poſ, *v. paghe*.
pou, 159; *pow*, 186; *dat. the*, 276; *acc.* 326; *pe*, 318; OE. *pu*.
pousande, 210; OE. *pusend*.
[pre], three, 210; OE. *preo*.
pritty, thirty, 210; OE. *pritig*.
purghe, by means of, 192; *thurghe*, through, 123; OE. *purh*.
pus, 96, 186; OE. *pus*.

vche, each, 204; *vche a*, 275, 348; OE. *ylc*; *cp. vschon*.
vghten, dawn, 118; OE. *on uhtan*.
vnchaungit, 95; *un*-+ OF. *changer*.
vnclousid, *pt. pl.* 140; *un*-+ OF. *clous*, *stem of clore*.
vnder, 203, 227; OE. *under*.
vnhapnest, most unfortunate, 198; *un*-+ ON. *heppinn*.
vnknawen, unknown, 147; *un*-+ OE. *cnāwen*; *cp. know*, to knowe.
vnlouke, *inf.* unlock, 67, 162; OE. *unlūcan*.
vnpreste, dull, ignorant, 285; *un*-+ OF. *prest*; *cp. prestly*.
vnsaȝt, warlike, 8; *un*-+ OE. *sæht*.
vnskathely, innocent, 278; *un*-+ ON. *skaðe*, harm + *-ly*.
vnsparid, unstinted, 335; *un*-+ OE. *sparian*.
vnwemmyd, unspotted, 96, 266; OE. *unwemmed*.
vnworthi, 122; *un*-+ OE. *wyrðig*.
vp, *adv.* 118; OE. *up*.
vp-halden, *pp.* uplifted, 349; OE. *up healdan*.

vpon, 290, 317; *vpon longe*, at length, 175; *opon*, 76, 125; *opon slepe*, 92; OE. *uppe on*.
vs, *v. we*.
vschon, each one, 93; OE. *ylc ān*; *cp. vche*.
vsen, *pr.* 3 *pl.* practise, 270; *pt.* 2s. *vsyt*, 187; 3s. 200; OF. *user*.

vayles, *pr.* 3s. *avails*, 348; OF. *vaill*, *stem of valoir*.
vayne-glorie, 348; *cp.* OF. *vaine gloire*.
verray, true, plain, 53; OF. *verai*.
verrayly, truly, 174; OF. *verai* + *-ly*.
vertue, 286; *pl.* *vertues*, 174; OF. *vertu*.
figures, characters, 53; OF. *figure*.
visite, *inf.* make a visitation at, 108; OF. *visiter*.
vouche-safe, *inf.* 121; OF. *voucher*, *sauf*.

waggyd, *pt.* 3s. *shook*, 281; *cp.* MSwed. *wagga*.
wakenyd, *pt.* 3s. *arose*, 218; OE. *wæcnan*.
wale, choice, to w., in abundance, 73; ON. *val*.
Wales, 9.
walon, *pp.* collected, 64; *cp.* ON. *valinn*, *pp. of velja*.
wan, *pt. pl.* won, 301; OE. *winnan*.
warpyd, *pt.* 3s. uttered, 321; ON. *varpa*.
was, *v. be*.
water, 316, 333; OE. *wæter*.
we, 301; *dat. vs*, 294; *acc.* 333; OE. *wē*.
wede, clothing, 96; *pl.* *wedes*, 77, 85; OE. *wæd*.
weghe, man, 96; *pl.* *wehes*, 73; OE. *wiga*.
weldes, *pr.* 3s. rules, 161; OE. *wealdan*.

- wele (1), prosperity, 233; OE. wela.
 wele (2), wel, *v.* gode.
 wele-dede, good conduct, 301; OE. wel-dæd.
 wemles, spotless, 85; OE. wemman, *v.*
 wenten, *pt. pl.* 69; OE. wendan.
 wepande, *pr. p.* 122; *pt. pl.*
 wepid, 220; wepyd, 310; OE. wēpan.
 were, *v. be.*
 weres, *pr. 2 s.* wearest, 222; OE. werian.
 werke, work, 38; OE. weorc.
 werke-men, *pl.* 69; OE. weorc-mann.
 werpe, *pt. 2 s.* utteredst, 329; OE. weorpan.
 werre, war, 215; OF. werre, guerre.
 weshe, *pr. pl.* wash, 333; OE. wæscan.
 wete, wet, 321; OE. wæt.
 wille, *n.* 226; OE. willa.
 wise, manner, 77, 182; OE. wīsa.
 witere, *imp. s.* inform; 185; ON. vitra.
 with, 40, 79; wyt, 165, 341; OE. wið.
 with-in, *prep.* 64; withinne, 252; *adv.* 68; OE. wið-innan.
 with-outen, *prep.* 85; OE. wið-utan.
 wolde, *pt. pl.* would, 68; OE. willan.
 wonder, marvel, 73, 99; OE. wundor.
 wondres, *pr. pl.* wonder, 125; OE. wundrian.
 wonnes, *pr. 3 s.* dwells, 279; OE. wunian.
 wontyd, *pt. 3 s.* lacked, 208; ON. vanta.
 worde, word, 218, 321; *pl.* wordes, 56, 178; OE. word.
 worlde, 64, 186; OE. woruld.
 wormes, 262; OE. wyrn; *cp.* ON. ormr.
 worthe, *inf.* happen, 258; *imp. s.* become, 340; *pp.* worthyn, 330; OE. weorðan.
 wos, *v. be.*
 wost, *pr. 2 s.* knowest, 183; *pl.* wot, 185; OE. witan.
 wothē, danger, 233; ON. vāði.
 wrakeful, cruel, 215; OE. wracu + -full.
 wrange, *adj.* wrong, 236; ON. *wrangr; Ícel. rangr.
 wranges, *n. pl.* wrongs, 243; ON. *wrangr; Ícel. rangr.
 wrathe, anger, 215, 233; OE. wrāððo.
 writtes, writings, 277; OE. writ.
 wroght, *v.* wyrke.
 wyzt, brisk, 69; ON. vīgr, *neut.* vīgt.
 wynter, *pl.* years, 230; OE. winter.
 wyrke, *inf.* work, 39; *pt. 2 s.* wroztēs, 274; *pl.* wroghtyn, 301; *pp.* wroght, 226; OE. wyrcan.
 wyt, *v. with.*
 wyterly, surely, 183; ON. vitrliga.
 ydols, *pl.* 17, 29; OF. idole.
 ylka, *v. ilke.*
 yrne, iron, 71; OE. īren.

APPENDIX

TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
TRAJAN-GREGORY LEGEND

I

FROM THE MONK OF WHITBY'S LIFE OF
ST. GREGORY

Quidam quoque de nostris dicunt narratum a Romanis Sancti Gregorii lacrimis, animam Traiani imperatoris refrigeratam vel baptizatam, quod est dictu mirabile et auditu. Quod autem eum dicimus baptizatam, neminem moveat; nemo enim sine baptismo Deum videbit unquam. Cuius tertium genus est lacrimae. Nam die quadam transiens per forum Traianum, quod ab eo opere mirifico constructum dicunt, illud considerans repperit opus tam elemosinarium eum fecisse paganum, ut Christiani plus quam pagani esse posse videretur. Fertur namque contra hostes exercitum ducens propere pugnaturus, unius ad eum voce viduae misericorditer mollitus, substetisse totius imperator orbis. Ait enim illa: *Domne Traiane, hic sunt homines qui filium meum occiderunt,*¹ *nolentes mihi rationem reddere.* Cui, *cum rediero,* inquit, *dicito mihi, et faciam eos tibi rationem reddere.* At illa: *Domine,* ait, *si inde non venies, nemo me adiuvet.* Tunc iam concite reos, in eam fecit coram se in armis suis subaratum ei pecuniam componere quem¹ debuérunt.² Hoc igitur sanctus inveniens Gregorius, id esse agnovit quod legimus; *Iudicare pupillo et defendite viduam et venite et arguite me dicit Dominus.*³ Unde per eum quem in se habuit Christum loquentem ad refrigerium anime eius quid implendo nesciebat, ingrediens ad sanctum Petrum solita direxit lacrimarum fluentia, usque, dum promeruit sibi divinitus revelatum fuisse exauditum, atque ut numquam de altero illud presumpsisset pagano.

(*A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great, written by a monk of the monastery of Whitby*, Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., 1904, pp. 38, 39.)

¹ Sic.

² The accent is marked in the MS.

³ Isai. i. 16, 17 *Iudicate pupillo, defendite viduam, et venite et arguite me, dicit Dominus.*

II

DANTE: (A) PURG. x. 73-96

Quivi era storiata l'alta gloria
 Del roman principato, il cui valore
 Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria:
 Io dico di Traiano imperadore;
 Ed una vedovella gli era al freno,
 Di lagrime atteggiata e di dolore.
 Intorno a lui pareva calcato e pieno
 Di cavalieri, e l'aquile nell'oro
 Sopr'esso in vista al vento si movieno.
 La miserella intra tutti costoro
 Pareva dicer: 'Signor, fammi vendetta
 Di mio figliuol ch'è morto, ond'io m'accoro.'
 Ed egli a lei rispondere: 'Ora aspetta
 Tanto ch'io torni.' E quella: 'Signor mio,'
 Come persona in cui dolor s'affretta,
 'Se tu non torni?' Ed ei: 'Chi fia dov'io
 La ti farà.' E quella: 'L'altrui bene
 A te che fia, se il tuo metti in oblio?'
 Ond'egli: 'Or ti conforta, chè conviene
 Ch'io solva il mio dovere, anzi ch'io mova:
 Giustizia vuole, e pietà mi ritiene.'
 Colui, che mai non vide cosa nuova,
 Prodisse esto visibile parlare,
 Novello a noi, perchè qui non si trova.

(B) PAR. xx. 43-8

Dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
 Colui che più al becco mi s'accosta,
 La vedovella consolò del figlio.
 Ora conosce quanto caro costa
 Non seguir CRISTO, per l'esperienza
 Di questa dolce vita, e dell'opposta.

APPENDIX

(c) PAR. XX. 106-17

Chè l'una dello Inferno, u' non si riede
Giammai a buon voler, tornò all' ossa,
E ciò di viva speme fu mercede;
Di viva speme, che mise la possa
Ne' preghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla,
Sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
L' anima gloriosa onde si parla,
Tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
Credette in Lui che poteva aiutarla;
E credendo s' accese in tanto foco
Di vero amor, ch' alla morte seconda
Fu degna di venire a questo gioco.

(DANTE, ed. Dr. E. Moore.)

III

JACOPO DALLA LANA

73. Elli si legge che al tempo di san Gregorio papa si cavò a Roma una fossa per fare fondamento d' uno lavorio, e cavando li maestri, trovonno sotto terra uno monumento, lo quale fu aperto, e dentro era in fra l' altre ossa quello della testa del defunto, ed avea la lingua così rigida, carnosa e fresca, come fusse pure in quella ora seppellita. Considerato li maestri che molto tempo era scorso da quello die a quello, che potea essere stato seppellito lo detto defunto, tenneno questa invenzione della lingua essere gran meraviglia, e publiconno a molta gente. Alle orecchie di san Gregorio venne tal novità, fessela portare dinanzi, e congiurolla dalla parte di Dio vivo e vero; e per la fede cristiana, della quale elli era sommo pontefice, ch' ella li dovesse dire di che condizione fu nella prima vita. La lingua rispuose: io fu Traiano imperadore di Roma, che signoreggiai nel cotale tempo, dappoi che Cristo discese nella Vergine, e sono all' inferno perch' io non fui con fede. Investigato Gregorio della condizione di costui per quelle scritture che si trovonno, si trovò

ch'elli fu uomo di grandissima giustizia e misericordiosa persona; e tra l'altre novelle trovò, che essendo armato e cavalcando con tutte le sue milizie fuori di Roma, andando per grandi fatti, una vedovella si gittò dinnanzi al cavallo in ginocchio, dicendo allo detto imperadore ch'elli li facesse ragione, con ciò fosse che uno suo figliuolo gli era stato morto. Lo imperadore avendo il cuore al sul viaggio disse: Donna aspetta che noi torniamo di questa oste, dove andiamo. La vedovella pronta rispose: Ma se tu non tornassi, come andrebbe la vicenda? E lo imperadore rispuose: Colui che sarà imperadore allora farà la vendetta tua. E la vedovella disse: Ma che grado ne averò io a te, io che mo che tu la puoi fare, tu la metti in indugia? Allora lo imperadore costretto da giustizia e da pietade, non si parti di quello luogo, ch'elli mandò e chiamare colui ch'avea fatto lo omicidio, e trovossi essere figliuolo del detto imperadore Traiano. Apresentato dinanzi da lui lo suo figliuolo per malfattore chiamò la vedovella, e disse: Or vedi costui che è mo mio figliuolo, è quello che ha commesso l'omicidio. Qual vuoi tu innanzi o ch'ello mora, o ch'io tel dia per tuo figliuolo? E sappi certamente ch'io il ti darò sì libero, ch'io non avrò più a fare in lui, nè elli in me, e sarà così tuo suddito, come se tu l'avessi portato nel tuo corpo. Pensato la vedovella che'l suo figliuolo morto non risuscitava perchè questo morisse, disse che lo voleva per suo figliuolo, e così l'ebbe, e possiedeolo da quell'ora innanzi. Fatta questa vendetta lo imperadore cavalcò a suo viaggio.

Per le quali istorie così bontadose lo detto san Gregorio si mosse a pregare Dio per lui, e tanto pregò che'l detto Traiano risuscitò, e visse al mondo e fu battezzato, e tiensi ch'elli sia mo salvo. Vero è che perchè il detto san Gregorio fece preghiera per dannato, volle Dio per penitenza di tal peccato, che da quel die innanzi per tutta la sua vita elli avesse male di stomaco. E dice l'autore che questa istoria di Traiano imperadore e della vedovella era scolpita apresso li due, di che è fatto menzione, siccome appare nel testo, la quale corrisponde alla terza malizia della superbia come è detto.

(Commentary of Jacopo dalla Lana, Milan, 1865, p. 201.)

IV

FROM BROMYARDE'S *SUMMA PRAEDICANTIUM*

Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 7 E. iv, fol. 275 b.

§ Et non solum ipsi leges & iusticias quas in extraneis observari volunt observent. *sed* & suos propinquissimos & carissimos illas servare faciant exemplo traiani imperatoris de quo scribitur quod tantam in suis iusticiam exercuit quod filium proprium ad serviendum cuidam vidue tradidit quia filius suus indiscrete equitando vidue filium impotentem pro matris servicio fecerat. § Et non solum sic in seipsis vel suis familiaribus leges suas observare debent. *sed* quandoque propter suorum Ministrorum defectum. vel propter causas & querelas ad eos diversis causis devolutas. ipsique quandoque inter alios iudicare deberent. pauperumque cognoscere causas. exemplum ad hoc habent in factis sancti Lodowici. d. 12. 4. & in gestis traiani imperatoris in quibus continetur quod ad bellum cum exercitu pergens. viduam quamdam obuiam habuit que eum pro iusticia in causa sua facienda interpellavit. Cui ille promisit quod in reditu ei iusticiam faceret. Cui illa. Quid si non redieris? tunc inquit successor meus tibi iusticiam faciet. Cui illa. Tu nunc mihi debitor es & non successor tuus. Si ergo mihi iusticiam non feceris fraudem mihi facis & peccas de quo factum successoris tui te non liberabit quia facta tua tibi valebunt vel nocebunt. & facta sua ei valebunt vel nocebunt & non tibi. quia iusticia iusti super eum erit & impietas impii super eum erit. Ezechiel. 18. qui sic conclusus ei iusticiam fecit. propter hec & alia iusticie opera beatus gregorius postmodum pro illo orasse legitur ad salutem qui se nunc propter talia iusticie opera in celis coronatum videns dicere potest illud. Thi 4. reposita est mihi corona iusticie.¹ Nota L. 3. 8. Item. P. 10. 2. § Horum ergo exemplo. Si vere utique iusticiam loquimini recte iudicate in P. § Sed heu nonnulli moderni iusticie aduocati & iudices ut dicunt de iusticia locuntur legesque condunt quas nec in seipsis nec in proximis nec in extraneis aliquid eis dantibus observant. quorum periculum potest Ezechiel 5. contempsit inquit iudicia mea ut plus

[F. 276 a.]

¹ Printed text inserts: 'Nota de iudice cuius caput londonijs in fundamentum ecclesie sancti pauli inuentum fuit etc.'

esset impia quam gentes & precepta mea vltra quam terre que in circuitu eius sunt & iuxta iudicia gentium non estis operati sicut per predicta patet exempla ideo hec dicit dominus . patres comedent¹ filios & filii patres . 3^a pars peste & fame & 3^a pars gladio morietur &c. Nota de hac materia L. 5. 4. quod videlicet tales vindicte propter peccata contingunt.

Fol. 286 a (L. 3. 8).

§ 2^o illam ab aliis observari faciant . quia quid valet legem condere nisi execucioni & observacioni demandetur. Nota ergo propriis parcat laboribus vel dispendiis quin leges tam a carissimis & propinquissimis quam et ab aliis omnibus subiectis observari faciant. Exemplum vnum ad hoc habetur de traiano. J. 13. 8.

Fol. 468 a (P. 10. 2).

& preseruat a pena seu morte eterna patet per exemplum de traiano & vidua. J. 13. 8.

VI

ROLEVINCK : *De Laude Veteris Saxoniae*

Capitulum III

De moribus Westphalonum antequam ad fidem converterentur.

Rem novam, ut supra protestatus sum, ago et idcirco correctorem in his suppliciter exoro ut, quae minus ad normam vadunt, ipse ad meliorem et certiore formam aptare dignetur. De vita ergo parentum nostrorum, ex quibus originem traximus, quoad pristinam aetatem, sicut et de ceteris gentibus, flebile est aliquid narrare, quoniam, ut ex multis signis perpendimus, omnes paene in miserabile illud sacrilegium sive idolatriae crimen corruerunt, dicente scriptura de behemoth, id est hoste antiquo : Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur, et habebit fiduciam quod Iordanis influat in os eius. Quod exponens beatus Gregorius dicit : Antiquus hostis pro magno non habet, quod infideles rapit, qui totum humanum genus paene per tot temporum

¹ MS. cōmedet.

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spatia in ventrem suae malitiae traxit, sed insuper fiduciam habet, quod baptismo regeneratos absorbere possit. Ex his et aliis satis patet, quod per multa millia annorum progenitores nostri hic infideliter vixerunt et tandem pro suis peccatis ad inferna descenderunt et illic aeterna supplicia infeliciter luant. Dicit enim apostolus, quod impossibile est sine fide placere deo. Pie tamen creditur, quod clemens deus aliquos electos inter eos habuit, secundum illud psalmi: Numquid in vanum constituisti omnes filios hominum? Haec ex sententia beati Augustini probari aliquid possunt in XVIII de civitate Dei, ubi loquitur de sancto Iob, qui nec circumcisis fuit nec legem aliquam accepit, et tamen cum suis prolibus et amicis deo fideliter servivit. Item XVI libro dicit, quod post benedictionem filiorum Noe usque ad Abraham nulla fit mentio iustorum aliquorum, nec eos tamen defuisse crediderim, quoniam si omnes commemorarentur, nimis longum fieret. Item circa annos domini dcccxxxx in Constantinopoli lamina aurea inventa est super corpus cuiusdam defuncti in quodam sepulchro, in qua sic scriptum erat: Christus nascetur de virgine Maria et ego credo in eum. O sol iterum videbis me, sub Constantino et Irene. Circa annum domini ut puto mccc in Vienna repertum fuit caput cuiusdam defuncti, lingua adhuc integra cum labiis, et loquebatur recte. Episcopo autem interrogante qualis fuisset in vita, respondit: Ego eram paganus et iudex in hoc loco, nec unquam lingua mea protulit iniquam sententiam, quare etiam mori non possum, donec aqua baptismi renatus ad coelum evolem, quod propter hoc hanc gratiam apud deum merui. Baptizato igitur capite, statim lingua in favillam corruit et spiritus ad dominum evolavit. Ex his et similibus colligere possumus, quod divina misericordia verisimiliter egerit erga ceteras gentes, in quibus magna virtutum exempla reperimus.

(*De Laude Veteris Saxoniae*, Wernerus Rolevinck, ed. Dr. Ludwig Tross, Köln, 1865, pp. 28, 30.)

V

PIERS PLOWMAN: (i) B. xi. 132-71

'That is soth,' seyde Scripture. 'may no synne lette
 Mercy alle to amende. and mekenesse hir folwe,
 For they beth as owre bokes telleth. aboute goddes werkes,
Misericordia eius super omnia opera eius.'

'Jee! baw for bokes!' quod one. was broken oute of helle,
 Hiȝte *Troianus*, had ben a trewe knyȝte. toke witnesse at a pope,
 How he was ded and dampned. to dwellen in pyne,
 For an vncristene creature; . 'clerkis wyten the sothe,
 That al the clergie vnder Cryste. ne miȝte me cracche fro helle,
 But onliche loue and leaute. and my lawful domes.
 Gregorie wist this wel. and wilned to my soule
 Sauacioun, for sothenesse. that he seigh in my werkes.
 And, after that he wepte. and wilned me were graunted
 Grace, wyth-outen any bede-byddyng. his bone was vnderfongen,
 And I saued, as ȝe may se. with-oute syngyng of masses;
 By loue, and by lernyng. of my lyuyng in treuthe,
 Brouȝte me fro bitter peyne. there no biddyng myȝte.'

Lo, ȝe lordes, what leute did. by an emperoure of Rome,
 That was an vncrystene creature. as clerkes fyndeth in bokes.
 Nouȝt thorw preyere of a pope. but for his pure treuthe
 Was that Sarasene saued. as seynt Gregorie bereth witnesse.
 Wel ouȝte ȝe lordes, that lawes kepe. this lessoun to haue in mynde,
 And on *Troianus* treuth to thenke. and do treuthe to the peple.

This matir is merke for mani of ȝow. ac, men of holy cherche,
 The Legende *Sanctorum* ȝow lereth. more larger than I ȝow telle!
 Ac thus lele loue. and lyuyng in treuthe
 Pulte oute of pyne. a paynym of Rome.
 I-blessed be treuthe. that so brak helle-gates,
 And saued the Sarasyn. fram Sathanas and his power,
 There no clergie ne couthe. ne kunnyng of lawes.
 Loue and leute. is a lele science;
 For that is the boke blessed. of blisse and of ioie:—
 God wrouȝt it and wrot hit. with his on fynger,
 And toke it Moyses vpon the mount. alle men to lere.

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V

PIERS PLOWMAN: (i) C. xiii. 71-99

'That is sothe,' seide Scripture - 'may no synne lette
Merry, that weel al amende - of meeknesse soue sette;
That sothe, as our bookes telleth - aken aboute godes werkes;
Misericordia eius super omnia opera eius.'

'Ye, how for bookes!' quath on - was broken out of helle -
'Ien, *Troianus* - a trewe knyght - ich take witness of a pope.
How ich was ded, and dampned - to dwellen in helle
For an vncristene creature; - seynt Gregorie wot the sothe.
That al the Cristen soues under Cret - he myght graunte me thenne!
Bote onliche lous and leaute - as in my lawes demynge!
Gregore wiste this wel - and wilnede to my soule
Therfor, for the sothnesse - that he seith in myn werkes:
And for he wilnede wepyng - that ich were saued,
God of his goodnesse - seih his grete wil;
Withoute me heles bydryng - and bone was vnderfongen,
And ich peased, as ye may see - withoute sparyng of maner.
Love, withoute leel by-tyng - and my lawe ryghtful
Sauede me Barrasyn - soule and body bothe.'

Lo, lordes! what Leaute dude - and leel dom y-used!
Wele wote ye lordes that lawes kepen - this lesson to haue in mynde,
And as *Troianus* treetheth to thynke - alle tynges of youre lyue,
And lope for youre lordes love - and do leaute awey more.

SAINT ERKENWALD

‘Lawe with-outen loue,’ quod *Troianus*. ‘Ieye there a bene,
Or any science vnder sonne · the seuene artz and alle,
But if thei ben lerned for owre lordes loue · loste is alle the tyme :’—
For no cause to cacche siluer there-by · ne to be called a mayster,
But al for loue of owre lorde · and the bet to loue the peple.
For seynte Iohan seyde it · and soth aren his wordes,

“*Qui non diligit, manet in morte*--

Who so loueth nouzte, leue me · he lyueth in deth-deyinge”.’

PIERS PLOWMAN: (ii) B. xii. 275-93

‘Alle thise clerkes,’ quod I tho · ‘that on Cryst leuen,
Seggen in her sarmones · that noyther Sarasenes ne Iewes,
Neno creature of Cristes lyknesse · with-outen Crystendome worth saued.’

‘*Contra*,’ quod Ymagynatyf tho · and comsed for to loure,
And seyde, ‘*saluabitur vix iustus in die iudicij*.

Ergo saluabitur,’ quod he · and seyde namore Latyne.

‘Troianus was a trewe knyzte · and toke neuere Cristendome,
And he is sauf, so seith the boke · and his soule in heuene.

For there is fullyng of fonte · and fullyng in blode-shedyng,
And thorough fuire is fullyng · and that is ferme bileue ;

Aduenit ignis diuinus, non comburens, sed illuminans, etc.

Ac trewth that trespassed neuere · ne transuersed azeines his lawe,
But lyueth as his lawe techeth · and leueth there be no bettere,
And if there were, he wolde amende · and in suche wille deyeth,
Ne wolde neuere trewe god · but treuth were allowed ;

And where it worth or worth nouzt · the bileue is grete of treuth,
And an hope hangyng ther-inne · to haue a mede for his treuthe.

For, *Deus dicitur quasi dans vitam eternam suis, hoc est, fidelibus ;*
et alibi ;

Si ambulauero in medio vmbre mortis, etc.

The glose graunteth upon that vers · a gret mede to treuthe,
And witt and wisdom, quod that wye · ‘was somme tyme tresore,
To kepe with a comune · no katel was holde bettere,
And moche murth and manhod :’—and riht with that he vanesched.

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For lawe with-oute leaute · leye ther a bene!
 Other eny science vnder sonne · the seuene ars and alle,
 Bote loue and leaute hem lede · y-lost is al the tyme
 Of hym that traueleth ther-on · bote treuthe be hus lyuynge.
 Lo, loue and leaute · been oure lordes bookes,
 And Cristes owen clergie · he cam fro heuene to teche hit,
 And sitthe seynt Iohan · seide hit of hus techynge;
 “*Qui non diligit, manet in morte*”.

PIERS PLOWMAN: (ii) C. xv. 200-17

‘Alle these clerkes,’ quath ich tho · ‘that on Crist byleyuen,
 Seggen in here sarmons · that nother Sarrasyns ne Iewes
 With-oute baptisme, as by here bokes · beeth nat ysaued.’

‘*Contra*,’ quath Ymaginatif tho · and comsed to loure,
 And seide, ‘*uia saluabitur iustus in die iudicii*;
Ergo saluabitur, quath he · and seide no more Latyn.
 ‘Traianus was a trewe knyght · and took neuere Crystendome,
 And he is saf, seith the bok · and his soule in heuene.
 Ther is follyng of font · and follyng in blod-shedyng,
 And thorw fuyr is follyng · and al is ferm by-leyue;

Aduenit ignis diuinus, non comburens sed illuminans.

Ac treuthe, that trespassed neuere · ne transuersede azens the lawe,
 Bote lyuede as his lawe tauhte · and leyueth ther be no bettere,
 And yf ther were, he wolde · and in suche a wil deyeth—
 Wolde neuere trewe god · bote trewe treuthe were a-lowed.
 And where hit worth other nat worth · the by-leyue is gret of
 treuthe,

And hope hongeth ay ther-on · to haue that treuthe deserueth;

Quia super pauca fidelis fuisti, supra multa te constituam:

And that is loue and large huyre · yf the lord be trewe,
 And cortesie more than couenant was · what so clerkes carpen;
 For al worth as god wole’—and ther-with he vanshede.

(PIERS THE PLOWMAN, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1886.)



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